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THE OPISTHODOMUS ON THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.¹

BY JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE.

IN inscriptions of the fifth century and fourth century B.C. and in Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and Lucian, references occur to a structure on the Acropolis at Athens which is called simply *ὁ ὀπισθοδόμος*, without further designation. The scholiasts, however, on the passages in which the Opisthodomus is thus referred to and the ancient lexicographers define its situation.

August Boeckh believed that the Opisthodomus in question was the western chamber of the cella of the Parthenon, and maintained this view with vigour.² So Leake,³ K. F. Hermann,⁴ Boetticher,⁵ Michaelis,⁶ and many others. This has been and remains the generally accepted view. It makes the "Parthenon" in the restricted sense, — the well-known treasure-chamber named in inscriptions,⁷

¹ The following discussion was first made public in a lecture delivered at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens on March 1, 1894. It was subsequently privately printed in London, in a limited number of copies, under date of May 5, 1894. Contemporaneously, Professor Arthur Milchhöfer of Münster published in the *Philologus* (Heft 2, 1894) a searching discussion of the same theme, in which he independently established the main contention of my paper, namely, that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis at Athens was a separate building. On the secondary question of the situation of the Opisthodomus we held and hold divergent views. My reasons for regarding Professor Milchhöfer's view on this question untenable constitute a part of the present revision of my original argument.

² *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*³, 1886, I. p. 517 ff., especially p. 519, note c. See also *CIG.* I. p. 177 f.

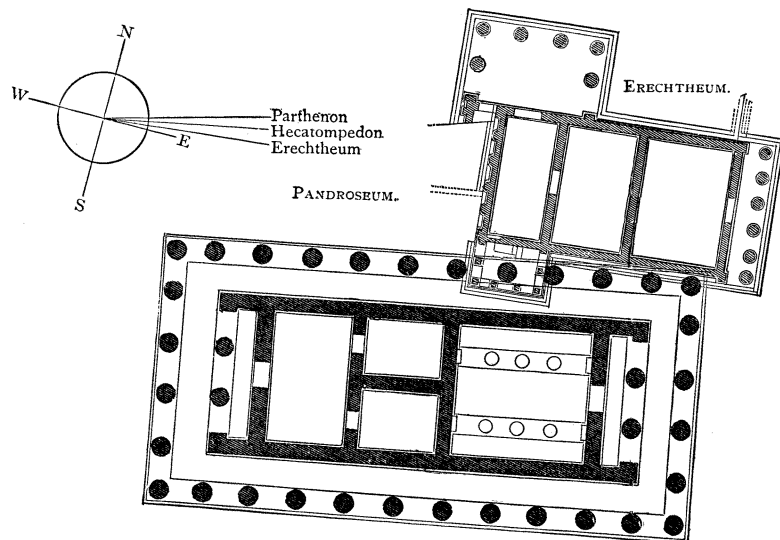
³ *Topography of Athens*², 1841, I. p. 559.

⁴ *Die Hypäthraltempel des Alterthums*, 1844, p. 27 f.

⁵ *Philologus*, 1862, XVIII., plan; *Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis*, 1863, p. 165 ff.




⁶ *Der Parthenon*, 1871, p. 26 f. See also p. 109.

⁷ See the important series, *CIA.* I. 161 ff.

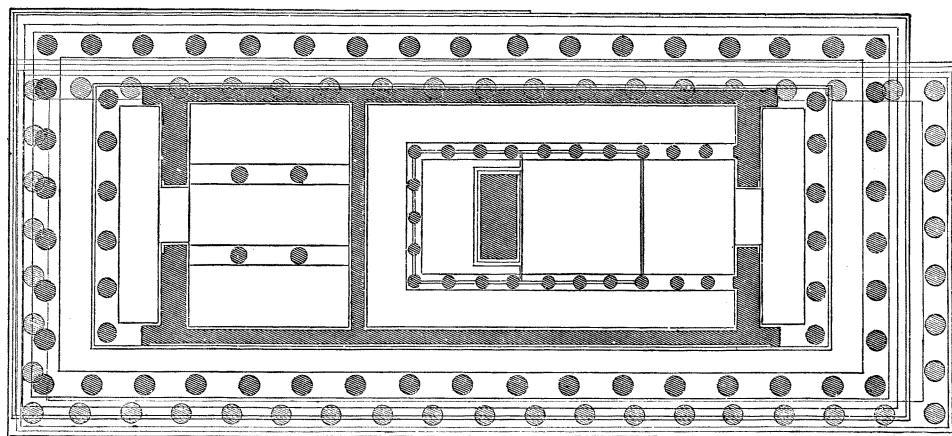


GROUND-PLAN
OF THE FOUR GREAT
TEMPLES ON THE
ACROPOLIS.
(From ANTIKE DENKMAELER, I.I.)

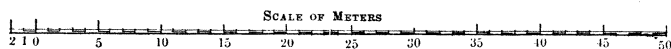
HECATOMPEDON
(DESTROYED BY THE PERSIANS).

-  HECATOMPEDON
(DESTROYED BY THE PERSIANS).
-  FIRST PARTHENON.
-  PARTHENON OF PERICLES.
ERECTHEUM.

PARTHENON OF PERICLES.



FIRST PARTHENON
(OVER WHICH PERICLES BUILT THE PARTHENON).



— a part of the νεὸς ἐκατόμπεδος, and places within it the great chryselephantine statue of Athena. Ussing believed that the western chamber of the cella was the "Parthenon," that the western portico was the Opisthodomus proper, and that the two together constituted the Opisthodomus of the inscriptions.¹ This is also Petersen's view.² Köhler maintains that the statue stood in the Hecatompedos, not in the "Parthenon," but refuses to identify the western chamber of the cella, which he believes to have been the Opisthodomus, with the "Parthenon."³ Lolling also believed this to be the Opisthodomus, although he held new and revolutionary views in regard to the application of the terms "Parthenon" and Hecatompedos.⁴ Dörpfeld, on grounds independent of those on which Ussing had based his argument, concluded that the western chamber of the cella was the "Parthenon," and that, in official language, Opisthodomus always meant the western portico of the temple.⁵ This view was adopted by Fränkel,⁶ and is held by Frazer.⁷ On his discovery of the Hecatompedon,⁸ Dörpfeld relinquished this view, and now main-

¹ *De Parthenone ejusque partibus disputatio*, 1849. Also *Griechische Reisen und Studien*, 1857, p. 145 ff.

² *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 70 f. Petersen was the first to endeavour to establish the proposition that the same room might have in contemporary documents two official names, namely, "Parthenon" and Opisthodomus. In the first edition of his *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* (1893, p. 177) Furtwängler supported the same proposition, and declared for a complete identification of "Parthenon" and Opisthodomus. He has now relinquished this view, and believes that the Opisthodomus was a separate building. See his *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, the English edition of his *Meisterwerke*, edited by Eugénie Sellers, London, 1895, p. 425 f.

³ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1880, v. p. 89 ff., especially p. 100.

⁴ Ἀθήνη, 1890, II. p. 627 ff.

⁵ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1881, VI. p. 283 ff.

⁶ In Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung*³, 1886, II. p. 106*, note 729.

⁷ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1892-93, XIII. p. 153 ff.

⁸ The temple of Athena whose foundations lie close to the Erechtheum on the south. For Dörpfeld's description of it as a structure, see *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1886, XI. p. 337 ff. See also *Mitth.* 1885, x. p. 275 ff. and *Antike Denkmäler*, 1886, plates I., II. Dörpfeld himself names it "alter Athena-Tempel," but this name seems to be misleading to those who do not believe that it was the oldest temple of Athena on the Acropolis. Petersen calls it "Peisistratischer Tempel" (note 2 above), Frazer "Pre-Persian Temple" (note 7 above). Dörpfeld main-

tains that the term Opisthodomus in the inscriptions and authors designates the three rooms constituting the western half of this temple, which, as is well known, he believes to have been still in existence in the time of Pausanias.¹ Finally, Fowler has advanced the original hypothesis that the Opisthodomus was the western chamber of the cella of the "Parthenon," that this room was doubtless divided into three parts by two partitions of some sort, probably of metal, running from the eastern and western walls to the nearest columns and connecting the columns, and that the middle division of the three between the partitions was the "Parthenon" proper.²

I am unable to accept any one of these views, and venture again to present for consideration our sources of information about the vexed structure called the Opisthodomus. I purpose to discuss as the main thesis of this paper the following proposition :

The Opisthodomus on the Acropolis at Athens, referred to in inscriptions and in authors simply as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος, was not a part of any existing temple, but was a separate building, complete in itself.

The current view, if I may so name it, would seem to be expressly contradicted by the testimony of the scholiasts and lexicographers. An important part of this testimony, with the original passages in the authors of which it is an explanation, is the following :

οἶον (ὅπως δὲ μὴ θορυβήσῃ μοι μηδεὶς, πρὶν ἂν ἅπαντα εἴπω) ἀνέψξαν δῆπου πρώην τινὲς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. [Dem.] XIII. 14.

Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ συντάξεως· ἀνέψξαν δῆπου πρώην τινὲς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. ὁ οἶκος ὃ ὀπισθεν τοῦ νεῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὕτω καλεῖται, ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίθεντο τὰ χρύματα. Harpocration s.v. ὀπισθόδομος.

tains that the name which he has assigned to it is correct (*Mitth.* 1892, xvii. p. 158, note 1). Furtwängler also calls it the "Old Temple" (note 2 above). The official name, which will be used in this paper, is τὸ Ἑκατόμπεδον. See *CIA.* iv. p. 137 ff.; *Δελτιον Ἀρχ.* 1890, p. 92 ff.; *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 1890, II. p. 627 ff.

¹ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 25 ff., 190 ff., 1890, xv. p. 420 ff. Dörpfeld's view, both that the Opisthodomus was in the Hecatompedon and that the latter was still in existence in the time of Pausanias, is accepted by Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, 1893, pp. 505 ff., and by Miller, *Amer. Jour. Arch.* 1893, VIII. pp. 500 and 528.

² *Amer. Jour. Arch.* 1893, VIII. p. 10 ff.

οἶκος ὀπισθεν τοῦ νεῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίθεντο τὰ χρήματα. ἡ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τόπος ἔνθα τὸ δημόσιον ἀργύριον ἀπέκειτο καὶ ὁ φόρος. Schol. FY [Dem.] XIII. 14.¹

μέρος τι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔνθα ἦν τὸ ταμεῖον, ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίθεντο τὰ χρήματα. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ συντάξεως· ἀνέψξαν δῆπου πρώην τινὲς τὸν ὀπισθοδόμον. Suidas s.v. ὀπισθοδόμος.²

ἰδρυσόμεθ' οὖν αὐτίκα μάλ', ἀλλὰ περιμένε,
τὸν Πλοῦτον, οὐπερ πρότερον ἦν ἰδρύμενος
τὸν ὀπισθοδόμον ἀεὶ φυλάττων τῆς θεοῦ.

Arist. *Plut.* 1191–1193.

ἐπειδὴ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἀπέκειτο. μέρος δέ ἐστι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἔνθα ἐστὶ ταμεῖον, ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναοῦ. Schol. R Arist. *Plut.* 1193.

ἄλλως. ὀπίσω τοῦ νεῷ τῆς καλουμένης πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς διπλοῦς τοίχος (οἶκος?) ἔχων θύραν, ὅπου ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον. ἐπεὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἀπέκειτο. μέρος δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. Schol. V Arist. *Plut.* 1193.³

ὀπισθεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον. Schol. LB Arist. *Plut.* 1191.

ταμεῖον τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἀκροπόλει· ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεῷ. Photius s.v. ὀπισθοδόμος.

καὶ οἱ ταμίαι ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ ὀπισθοδόμος ἐνεπρήσθη, καὶ οἱ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ἐν τῷ οἰκῇματι τούτῳ ἦσαν ἕως ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. Dem. XXIV. 136.

ἴστέον ὅτι χρήματα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔκειτο ἐν τινι οἰκῇματι ὀπίσω τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, τῷ καλουμένῳ ὀπισθοδόμῳ,

¹ The statement, ἐν τῇ... φόρος, is also in B.

² ὀπισθοδόμος μέρος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως... χρήματα. Schol. V Lucian *Fug.* 7. The Scholiast did not observe that Lucian was talking about an opisthodomus at Olympia.

³ See Dübner's note (*Schol. Graeca in Arist.* 1841, p. 613), who also gives the variant in Par. 2821.—οἶκος is the conjecture of Michaelis (*Paus. descrip. arc. Athen.* 1880, p. VI. add. ad c. 24, 47 u. 7 a fine), and must be right. He compares Paus. I. 26. 5, διπλοῦν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ οἶκημα.

καὶ ἥσάν τινες τεταγμένοι ταμίαι ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τούτων. Schol. ATCV Dem. xxiv. 136.¹

ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, οὗ τὸ δημόσιον ἀργύριον ἀπέκειτο [πρὸς τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ] καὶ ὁ φόρος. Hesychius s.v. ὀπισθοδόμος (*sic*).²

The meaning of the interpreters here seems to be clear. Their testimony is that the Opisthodomus was *a house*, or *a place on the Acropolis*, or *a part of the Acropolis*, that lay behind the temple of Athena, and that it was used as a treasury.

These old Greek interpreters have been variously dealt with by modern writers who have discussed the Opisthodomus.³ By the most of the scholars named above they have been silently ignored, for whatever reason; by others they have been taken seriously⁴; by others still their testimony has been rejected as worthless.⁵ In some instances it is impossible to tell by what interpretation of the Greek scholiasts and lexicographers some of the moderns arrive at the conclusion embodied in the current view.⁶

If in the interpreters as quoted above the words *νεώς* and *ιερόν* mean *temple*, it is possible to obtain the definition of Opisthodomus adopted in the current view only by attaching to *ὀπισθεν* the meaning

¹ The Scholiast's meaning, probably, is *treasure that belonged both to the sanctuaries of the other gods and to Athena's*. *ὀπίσω τῆς ἀκροπόλεως* is as it stands nonsense, since it removes the Opisthodomus from the Acropolis altogether. Compare the definition in Pollux (ix. 40), *τὸ κατόπιν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως* (*sc. ἂν εἴποις*) *ὀπισθόδομον*.

² Cf. the schol. [Dem.] XIII. 14 quoted above.

³ See, as to the credibility of this ancient testimony, p. 41 ff.

⁴ By Boeckh, for example (*CIG.* I. p. 177 f.), whose interpretation is discussed p. 43 f.

⁵ By Michaelis, whose treatment of the evidence is considered on p. 12.

⁶ Leake, for example, cites the scholiasts and lexicographers, but gives no explanation how from their statements he reaches the conclusion that the Opisthodomus was the western apartment of the cella of the Parthenon. Dörpfeld also, who believes that the Opisthodomus was the rear part of the Hecatompedon, twice in interpreting the scholiasts and lexicographers translates the phrase *ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώς*, 'hinter dem Tempel,' 'hinter dem Athena-Tempel.' See *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. pp. 34, 39. This is, I think, the right interpretation; but it is difficult to see how, if the Opisthodomus lay 'behind the temple,' it was at the same time a part of it.

in the back part of. οἶκος ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ would then mean *a room in the back part of the temple of Athena*. But this meaning of ὀπισθεν with the genitive cannot be established. It is recognized by none of the lexicographers. In order to express the desired meaning ὀπισθεν must be combined adjectively with the article; the genitive that follows is then partitive. Pausanias, for example, in telling where certain paintings are in the temple of Messene, daughter of Triopas, says (IV. 31. 11), γραφαὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ὀπισθεν οἱ βασιλεύσαντές εἰσι Μεσσήνης, *i.e. in postica templi parte*.

It may be well to establish the uses of ὀπισθεν in this author, who naturally had occasion to use the word often. In Pausanias ὀπισθεν may be used, as above, adjectively.¹ Sometimes it is used adverbially.² In the great majority of the instances of its occurrence, it is followed, as an adverb of place, by the genitive. In the most of these it clearly means *behind*; in some cases the meaning is indeterminable, because the statement is brief, and we have no other means of arriving at the facts; in no instance can it be proved that the word means *in the back part of*.

In the following cases ὀπισθεν signifies, in my judgment, *behind*: καὶ σφᾶς ὑπερεβάλοντο Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κολοσσὸν ἀναθέντες ὀπισθε τοῦ ναοῦ. I. 18. 6. Pausanias has just said that the peribolus of the temple (the Olympieum at Athens) is full of statues of Hadrian; but the Athenian colossus overtopped all the rest. The statue had a commanding position, facing the Acropolis. Cf. VIII. 9. 6; 30. 7; 30. 8. ἔστι δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ Λυκείου Νίσου μνήμα. I. 19. 4. Cf. II. 31. 3; III. 16. 6; VIII. 14. 10. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι ναὸς ἐστι θεᾶς ἄξιος· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἐξεργάσθη τοῦ Διὸς . . . ὀπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται ξύλα ἡμίεργα . . . ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ναῷ τριήρους ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦν ἔμβολον. I. 40. 4, 5. The phrase ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ναῷ makes it certain that the ξύλα ἡμίεργα were not in the temple. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν, ἣ ἐστὶν ὀπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ. II. 5. 1. τούτου δὲ (*i.e.* τοῦ θεάτρου) ὀπισθεν φκοδόμηται σταδίον πλευρὰ μία, ἀνέχουσά τε αὐτὴ τὸ θέατρον καὶ ἀντὶ ἐρείσματος ἀνάλογον ἐκείνῃ χρωμένη. II. 29. 11. ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς

¹ I. 24. 5; II. 20. 7; V. 10. 8; VI. 5. 6; VIII. 45. 7; X. 19. 4.

² I. 3. 3; V. 20. 2; VI. 5. 6; X. 26. 5.

ταύτης ὀπισθεν ἤρφα. III. 15. 1. Cf. I. 1. 3. ὀπισθεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ναός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης. III. 17. 5. καὶ ὀπισθεν γυνὴ αὐτοῦ. V. 17. 9. Cf. V. 19. 6. ἔστηκε δὲ (i.e. Κλεοσθένους ἄρμα) ὀπισθεν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἀνατεθέντος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. VI. 10. 6. Cf. X. 9. 9. ὑπομόνοντες τῆς τάξεως ὀπισθεν οἱ οἰκέται τοσάδε σφίσιν ἐγίνοντο χρήσιμοι. X. 19. 10. The following are indeterminable, but that in them ὀπισθεν means *behind* can hardly be doubted in view of the preceding clear instances of this meaning: II. 11. 1; II. 13. 7; V. 15. 7; VIII. 22. 7. In Pausanias ὀπίσω¹ is almost always an adverb accompanying a verb of motion; the following example shows its meaning when followed by the genitive: ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ὀπίσω Ἀφροδίτης ναός. VI. 25. 2. It should finally be noted, as important in establishing the meaning of ὀπισθεν and ὀπίσω with the genitive of place, that the counter-idea is generally expressed by πρό with the genitive, where by no contrivance can the preposition signify *in the front part of*.

In view of these facts, it is impossible to interpret ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ to mean *in the back part of the temple of Athena*.

But, as is well known, νεώς may signify *cella*, as well as *temple*, although, when the entire number of cases of the word's occurrence is taken into account, this is very rare both in the literature and in inscriptions. If this signification of the word could be established for the phrase οἶκος ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ, we should arrive at the meaning demanded by the current view as to the situation of the Opisthodomus.

The question is limited to the use of νεώς in its actual application to temples of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens.² Fortunately

¹ This form occurs in the schol. V Arist. *Plut.* 1193 and in the schol. Dem. xxiv. 136 quoted above.

² The consideration of the etymology of the word πρόναος is pertinent, but does not establish the meaning *cella* for ναός. That which πρόναος names doubtless marked the first stage of development of the original ναός from a single room to a more complicated structure; at this time πρόναος meant (*porch*) *before the temple*. ναός and ἄδυτον were then identical. The original ναός kept its name when, with the permanent addition of the porch in front and the porch behind, that name received a larger application and designated (as it had exclusively at first) the entire structure. Cf. δῶμος and πρόδομος (ἐν προδόμῳ δῶμον, *Od.* iv. 302), and the theatre-terms σκηνή and προσκήνιον. The original etymological force of πρόναος is seen in its adjectival use, which is not uncommon. Cf. βωμοὺς προνάους,

the successive labours of scholars have collected the existing literary and epigraphical evidence not only for the word *νεώς* but also for the other terms designating these temples and their parts,¹ and it is now not difficult to reach trustworthy conclusions in regard to their use and application. The law of use for *νεώς* and *ιερόν*² requires that, when they have the limited sense *cella*, *this shall always be clearly indicated either by an added epithet or by the context*. Such instances are surprisingly rare. I proceed to an examination of the evidence.

We meet first cases in which the old temple of Athena³ is referred to as *ἀρχαῖος* or *παλαιὸς νεώς*,⁴ where the epithet excludes the meaning *cella* for *νεώς*. Xenophon records that the old temple was set on fire; Strabo contrasts it with the Parthenon. It would be as forced to suppose that *νεώς* means *cella* in any of these instances as in the scholium on Arist. *Pax* 605, the source of which is Philochorus, *καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστάθη εἰς τὸν νεῶν τὸν μέγαν*, in which it is important to note the epithet. Here *ὁ μέγας νεώς* is the Parthenon, and yet we know that the statue was in the *cella*.

The meaning *cella* for *νεώς* is excluded also in the inscriptions that relate to the building of the old temple of Athena and to its restoration after the burning described by Xenophon; also in those referring to the setting up of stelae *παρὰ τὸν νεώ* and to the approach of the panathenaic ship.⁵

Aesch. *Suppl.* 494; τῆς Προναῖης Ἀθηναῖης, Hdt. VIII. 37; Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, δνομαζόμενοι Πρόναοι, Paus. IX. 10. 2. Cf. Harp. s.v. *προναία*: διὰ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἰδρῶσθαι.

¹ See Michaelis, *Parthenon*, 1871, pp. 285–317; Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. descrip. arc. Athen.* 1880; Milchhöfer in Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, 1891, pp. XX–XXII.

² *ιερόν* occurs above, in the schol. Arist. *Plut.* 1191. It occurs also in E. M. s.v. *ὀπισθόδομος*.

³ In this paper “old temple of Athena” means the Erechtheum or its predecessor on the same site.

⁴ *CIA.* IV. I c, 27 (p. 3 f.); I. 93, 6; II. 74 a, 14; 163, 9; 464, 6; 672, 43; 733 A, col. II. 6; Xen. *Hell.* I. 6. 1; schol. Arist. *Lys.* 273; Strabo IX. p. 396. *CIA.* II. 751 B, d, 19, and 758 A, col. II. 8, do not belong here. See Lehner, *Ueber die athenischen Schatzverzeichnisse*, 1890, p. 79.

⁵ *CIA.* I. 60, 3; 322, 1, 4, 8; IV. 321, col. III. 27 (p. 74 ff.); II. 332, 44; 829, 3; *Mith. d. Inst. Athen*, 1883, VIII. p. 59, 25; *CIA.* III. 776, 3.

There are other instances in which *νεώς* certainly means *temple*, although it is not easy to categorize them. Some of these refer to the Parthenon,¹ others to the old temple of Athena.² In some of them, although the object referred to was probably in a specific part of the temple, it is still clear that the temple as a whole was in the speaker's mind when he used the word *νεώς*.³ These are of the same nature as the quotation from Philochorus above (schol. Arist. *Pax* 605).⁴

There are three passages in dispute.⁵ If in these *ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος νεώς* means *the cella of the Polias*, it should be observed that this results solely *from the demands of the context*,⁶ for in the majority of

¹ Aristot. *hist. an.* vi. 24, p. 577 B, 29 (cf. Aelian *de nat. an.* vi. 49); Philochorus in schol. Arist. *Pax* 605; Plut. *de soll. an.* 13, p. 970 B; Paus. i. 24. 5 and 8; Arist. i. p. 548, 14 Dind.; schol. Dem. xxii. 13; Hesych. *s.v.* 'Εκατόνπεδος; *Lex. Pat.* in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1877, i. p. 149, 'Εκατόμπεδον; E. M. *s.v.* 'Εκατόμπεδον (cf. Bekk. *Anec.* i. p. 283, 15); Suidas *s.v.* 'Εκατόμπεδος *νεώς*.

² Hom. *Il.* ii. 549; *CIG.* 6280 A, 31 = Kaibel *Ep. Gr.* 1046, 90; Plut. *quaest. con.* ix. 6, p. 741 B; Paus. i. 27. 2 and 4; Himer. *Ecl.* v. 30; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* iii. p. 13 Sylb. (cf. Apollod. iii. 14. 7); schol. Arist. *Eq.* 1169; Eust. *Il.* xxii. 451 (cf. Hesych. *s.v.* Αἰδοῦς βωμός); Eust. *Od.* i. 357; schol. Arist. *Lys.* 759. The last two relate to the sacred snake, which was in the old temple. Hesychius (*s.v.* οἰκουρὸν δφιν) alone names an exact spot, and places the snake where we should expect to find it, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως. This must interpret for us the σηκός of Plutarch (*Them.* 10). In Dion. Hal. *Ant.* xiv. 2 similarly we find ἐν τοῦ γηγενοῦς Ἐρεχθέως τῷ σηκῷ, where he is speaking of the olive. See, for the snake, the passages in Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. descr. arc. Athen.* 1880, p. 27 (c. 27, 7*).

³ Plut. *Cim.* 5; *Anth. Pal.* vi. 2 (Simonides); Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 20. — If Paus. i. 24. 3 is to be taken into account, it belongs in this general category.

⁴ To this category belongs also Hdt. viii. 55, if one believes that there 'Ἐρεχθέος νηὸς refers to the whole building, as in the prevailing modern use of the word "Erechtheum." If one does not believe this, but that the σκήμα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον of Pausanias (i. 26. 5) is the double western half of the old temple, then the expression in Herodotus is not to be taken into account, since the present inquiry is limited to the investigation of the meaning of *νεώς* and *ἱερόν* in their application to temples of Athena.

⁵ Philochorus frg. 146 (Dion. Hal. *de Din.* 3); Paus. i. 27. 1 and 3.

⁶ See Michaelis's discussion of the passages, *Mith. d. Inst. Athen.* 1877, ii. p. 31 ff., with notes 25 and 27. His negative argument by which in Paus. i. 27. 3 *ὁ νεώς τῆς Πολιάδος* is made to refer to the *cella* of the Polias has not met with acceptance.

the instances of the occurrence of the phrase it is generally agreed that the reference is to the *temple* of Athena.¹ The argument from the context, in fact, led to this interpretation of these three passages.

There are two cases in which *νεώς* means *cella*. In the first of these² the inscription names the whole building, the Hecatompedon, and then its parts, ὁ *νεώς*, τὸ *προνήιον*, and τὰ *οἰκήματα* τὰ ἐν τῷ *ἐκατομπέδῳ*. Here the signification of *νεώς* is made clear by its collocation with *προνήιον*. The second case is the well-known use of the word in the treasury-documents,³ where it always has an epithet, ὁ *νεώς* ὁ *ἐκατόμπεδος*.

The facts for the use of *ιερόν* are altogether similar. In some instances it signifies either *sacred precinct* or *temple*,⁴ generally the latter; in two it refers to the Parthenon.⁵ In none of these has it a more limited meaning than *temple*.⁶

In a single case it means *cella*.⁷ But here, as in the two cases of *νεώς* mentioned above, its meaning is made clear by the context, since it is interpreted by the preceding *ἄδυτον*.

Here, then, we have abundant instances, both literary and epigraphical, of the uses of *νεώς* and *ιερόν*, extending from the earliest to the latest times, and among them all only three cases in which they certainly signify *cella*. In each of these three cases, moreover, the context or an added epithet makes clear that this is the signification. In the passages from the scholiasts and lexicographers, on the contrary, that are quoted above, no limitation whatever of the meaning of *νεώς* and *ιερόν* is indicated. And yet the especial purpose of these interpreters was to give a definition; nor were they

¹ Strabo IX. p. 396; *CIA.* II. 332, 44; *Mith. d. Inst. Athen*, 1883, VIII. p. 59, 25; Himer. *Ecl.* v. 30; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* III. 45, p. 13 Syll.; schol. Arist. *Eq.* 1169; Eust. II. XXII. 451 and *Od.* I. 356.

² *CIA.* IV. p. 137 ff.

³ *CIA.* I. 146, 157, 158, 159; II. 652 A, 15.

⁴ Hdt. V. 90; VIII. 41, 51 (*bis*), 53, 54, 55 (*bis*); Thuc. I. 126; Phot. *s.v.* ταμῖαι (quoting Aristot., frg. 402 Rose, Bekk. *Anec.* p. 306, 7, and note Aristot. *Resp. Ath.* c. 47, 1); Dion. Hal. *Ant.* XIV. 2; Hesych. *s.v.* Αἰδοῦς βαμὸς; schol. Aesch. II. 147.

⁵ Ps. Dicaearchus frg. I, 1; schol. *Pat.* Dem. XXII. 13 (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1877, I. p. 13).

⁶ See Hesych. *s.v.* οἰκουρὸν δφιν, and p. 9, note 2, above.

⁷ Hdt. V. 72.

ignorant of the fact, had *νεώς* and *ιερόν* seemed to them to be liable to misinterpretation, that the unmistakable *ἄδυτον*, an Homeric word, and *σηκός* were ready to their hand.¹

If, nevertheless, we seek to attach to *νεώς* and *ιερόν* in these passages the restricted sense of *cella*, we encounter an unexpected difficulty. Schol. V Arist. *Plut.* 1193 says that the Opisthodomus lay behind the *νεώς* of *Athena Polias*. Those, therefore, who hold the current view in regard to the situation of the Opisthodomus must either establish the worship of *Athena Polias* in the Parthenon or Hecatompedon, or reject the evidence. If the evidence is trustworthy and if the term *Polias* designates, as is commonly believed, *Athena* of the *Erechtheum* or of the temple that preceded it on the same site, then we are forced, on the supposition that *νεώς* here has the restricted sense, to the conclusion that the Opisthodomus lay in the *Erechtheum*. But this is impossible. Boeckh saw these difficulties, and felt himself forced to declare that the scholiast had blundered,² although he himself accepted and in part sought to explain the remaining testimony of the scholiasts and lexicographers.

That in the phrase *οἶκος* or *οἴκημα ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ* the words *οἶκος* and *οἴκημα* may signify *house* will at once be granted. This is the first and common meaning of *οἶκος* and is perfectly established for *οἴκημα*, and if demanded by other considerations, namely, the use of *ὀπισθεν* and *νεώς* just discussed, it must be allowed. This use of *οἶκος* to denote a separate structure that was a treasury receives striking confirmation from the names officially recorded of four of the treasuries and magazines at Delos, *Ἀνδρίων οἶκος*, *Ναξίων οἶκος*, *Δηλίων οἶκος*, and *Πώρινος οἶκος*.³ In charge of the anathemata and materials stored in these were the *ιεροποιοί*, whose functions corresponded closely to those of the *ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ* at Athens.

The same word is used by Hesychius in defining *θησανρός*, namely: *εἰς ἀγαλμάτων καὶ χρημάτων [ῆ] ἱερῶν ἀπόθεσιν οἶκος*.

If the preceding discussion of the terms *ὀπισθεν*, *νεώς*, and *οἶκος* is sound, we must either agree that the Opisthodomus was neither in

¹ Hesych., Suidas, E. M., *scv.*; Bekk. *Anec.* i. p. 345, 25.

² *Staatshaushaltung*³, 1886, i. p. 517 f.

³ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, vi. pp. 48, 87, 88, 91, 100, 135; 1884, viii. p. 322; 1890, xiv. p. 509, note 3; 1891, xv. p. 141.

the Parthenon nor in the Hecatompelon, but was a separate building, or else reject the testimony of the scholiasts and lexicographers as to its situation. Michaelis does reject their testimony, declaring their explanation of the name for the most part worthless.¹ He makes an exception in favour of Harpocraton, but the reasons for this are not apparent. In Harpocraton's definition, $\delta \text{ οἶκος } \delta \text{ ὀπισθεν τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὕτω καλεῖται}$, one might be tempted to construe $\delta \text{ ὀπισθεν οἶκος τοῦ νεῶ}$, and render *the back chamber of the temple*; but this construction is excluded by the phraseology of the Epitome, $\epsilon \text{ καλεῖτο δὲ οὕτως } \delta \text{ ὀπισθεν τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οἶκος}$, where the genitive τοῦ νεῶ cannot be partitive. Michaelis's rejection of the evidence seems to justify the conclusion that he did not believe it possible to interpret ὀπισθεν and νεῶς in the manner demanded by the current view.

The testimony of these later writers receives unexpected confirmation from an early and important inscription :

$\tau]$ ὁ δὲ ἱερὸ ἀργυρί[ο τὸ μὲν ἐκ
 $\tau]$ ῆς [γενόμ]εν[ον ταμειύ-
 $\epsilon]$ σθαι [ἐν περιβ]όλο[ι τοῖ ὀπισ-
 $\theta]$ εν τὸ τῆς ἈθENAΙΑ[ς ἀρχαίῳ ν-
 $\epsilon]$ ὸ ἐμ πόλει. CIA. IV. 1 C, 25-29 (p. 3 ff.).

This inscription, to which we shall return, says at least so much, if we accept the restorations,² that in the first half of the fifth century B.C. treasure of the Eleusinian goddesses was kept in an enclosure behind the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis. This statement is strikingly similar to that of the scholiasts and lexicographers quoted above, who say that the treasury was behind the temple of Athena, one of them that it was behind the temple of Athena Polias.

In 454 B.C. the chest of the Delian Confederation was transferred to Athens, and from this date the funded treasure of the state, which consisted of the surplus of its yearly income and was kept on the

¹ *Der Parthenon*, 1871, p. 293.

² Dittenberger, *SIG.* 384, and Dörpfeld, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, xii. p. 39. See p. 45, note 2.

Acropolis, was large.¹ This was public money, δημόσια, in contrast with sacred treasure, ιερά. The two funds were kept separate, but they were nevertheless both housed in the same place, in the keeping of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ.

Now the theory that the public and sacred treasure of Athens was stored in the opisthodomus of the Parthenon fails to provide a place for it before the completion of that temple in 438 B.C. This fact is so formidable that once the advocates of the theory even resorted to the supposition that the opisthodomus of the Parthenon must have been completed and put to use as early as 454 B.C. when the Delian fund was brought to Athens, but this view is now abandoned.

A place, therefore, must be provided for the storing of these funds in the time before the Parthenon was built. This is conceded even by those who believe that the Opisthodomus was in the Parthenon.²

We have, further, excellent testimony to the existence of a treasury at Athens, which is mentioned in connexion with the Stoa Poecile and temple of Castor and Pollux in such a manner as to make it highly probable that it was a separate structure. The connexion in which it is mentioned makes it certain that it was at Athens.

Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας· περὶ Πολυγνώτου τοῦ ζωγράφου, Θασίου μὲν τὸ γένος, υἱοῦ δὲ καὶ μαθητοῦ Ἀγλαοφώντος, τυχόντος δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας ἤτοι ἐπεὶ τὴν Ποικίλην στοὰν ἔγραψε προῖκα, ἥ, ὡς ἔτεροι, τὰς ἐν τῷ Θησαυρῷ καὶ τῷ Ἀνακείῳ γραφάς, ἱστορήκασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀρτέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ ζωγράφων καὶ Ἰόβας ἐν τοῖς περὶ γραφικῆς. Harpocration s.v. Πολύγνωτος.

In Photius and Suidas (s.v. Πολύγνωτος) and in Eudocia (340, ed. Flach, 1880), this reads as follows :

οὗτος ζωγράφος μὲν ἦν τὴν τέχνην, Θάσιος δὲ τὸ γένος, υἱὸς δὲ καὶ μαθητὴς Ἀγλαοφώντος, τυχὼν δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας, ἥ ἐπεὶ τὴν Ποικίλην στοὰν ἀνέγραψε προῖκα, ἥ, ὡς ἔνιοι, τὰς ἐν τῷ Θησαυρῷ καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἀνακείῳ γραφάς.

¹ There was a fund before this time, but it was relatively small. See Thumser, Hermann's *Griech. Staatsalt.*⁶, 1892, I. 2, pp. 629 and 662.

² For example, by Frazer, who says (*Jour. Hellen. Stud.* 1892-93, XIII. p. 162) that in this time the Athenians must certainly have had some strong place in which to store the public and sacred treasure.

The only authenticated reading is *Θησαυρῶ*. Editors without due warrant have changed this by conjecture to *Θησεῖω* or *Θησέως ἱερῶ*.¹ In this they have disregarded the testimony of Pausanias, who ascribes the paintings in the Theseum to Micon.² The supposition, expressed above, that this *Θησαυρός* at Athens which was adorned with paintings by Polygnotus was a separate building, is strengthened by the well-known fact that the treasure-houses at Olympia and Delphi were called *θησαυροί* and were separate structures.³ Here then we have additional reference to a place for the storing of money at Athens which was probably an independent structure. This treasury mentioned by Harpocration cannot have been an insignificant or unimportant building.

If the theory that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis which was used as a treasury was a separate building is contradicted by any inscriptional or literary evidence, it must be abandoned. Is it thus contradicted? This Opisthodomus is mentioned four times in Greek literature. Three of the passages are quoted above.⁴ The fourth is the following :

ΔΗΜ. ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουτεῖς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον διορύξας. ΤΙΜ. οὐ διώρυνκται οὐδὲ οὗτος, ὥστε ἀπίθανά σου καὶ ταῦτα. Lucian, *Timon* 53.

There is no intimation in any one of these four passages that the Opisthodomus mentioned was the western chamber or chambers of the cella either of the Parthenon or of the Hecatompedon. On the contrary, so far as they contain any implication at all, it is easier to suppose that the burning recorded by Demosthenes and the spoliation imagined by Lucian relate to a building that stood apart and was at least of a semi-secular character than to a part of a great temple. It is fairly incredible that the Parthenon should have been set on fire in the early years of the fourth century B.C., and no distinct mention of so notable an event have come down to us ; and one

¹ See Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen*, 1868, no. 1042; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, 1871, p. 27, note 84; Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung*³, 1886, I. p. 518, note c.

² I. 17. 2-4. See Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, no. 1086.

³ Paus. VI. 19; X. II. 1, 2, and 5. Cf. the definition of *θησαυρός* by Hesych., quoted p. 11 above.

⁴ [Dem.] XIII. 14 (p. 3); Arist. *Plut.* 1191-1193 (p. 4); Dem. XXIV. 136 (p. 4).

may well wonder how Lucian imagined Timon to have set to work to dig through its massive walls. That would have been impossible, and yet in his answer Timon, although he denies the charge, recognizes the possibility of doing the thing of which he is accused.

There are two other references to an opisthodomus on the Acropolis :

τὸν γὰρ ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῷ (the Athenians to Demetrius) κατὰ λυσιν, κακεὶ δίαίταν εἶχε. Plut. *Demet.* 23.

ἔχοντι δὲ οὕτω μοι γίνεται ὅψις ὀνειράτων τοιάδε· ἐδόκουν εἶναι μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρτι κατηρκῶς, οἰκεῖν δὲ ἐξόπισθε τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐν οἰκίᾳ Θεοδότου τοῦ ἱατροῦ, εἶναι δ' αὐτὴν πρῶτην πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα· τοῦ δὲ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁρᾶσθαι τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἀπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ εἶναι πολὺ κατωτέρω τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τὴν οἰκίαν. Aristides, I. p. 548, 14, Dindorf.

The disgraceful housing of Demetrius and his mistresses in the Parthenon is a well-known event. Plutarch's record of it contains an implication of importance to the present discussion. When, namely, the Opisthodomus is referred to by Demosthenes, Aristophanes, and Lucian, no specification of its situation is necessary. It is sufficient to say ὁ ὀπισθόδομος. But Plutarch in designating the place in which Demetrius was lodged felt it necessary to name it τὸν ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος. Aristides, likewise, who as the context shows undoubtedly refers to the Parthenon,¹ says τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον, not simply τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. The inference is that these two opisthodomoi were not the same, and therefore that *the* Opisthodomus was not the western chamber of the cella of the Parthenon.²

¹ ἐξόπισθε τῆς ἀκροπόλεως means *south of the Acropolis*. Cf. Hdt. VIII. 53, ἔμπροσθε πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. — I am indebted for the reference to Aristides to Professor Edward Capps of the University of Chicago. Search might reveal other references to an opisthodomus on the Acropolis in other late writers. There is no such reference, other than those cited in this paper, in Homer, the Dramatists, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, the Orators, Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, Lucian, or Pausanias.

² Any objection to this conclusion based on the fact that Plutarch and Aristides were not, like Demosthenes and Aristophanes, Athenians, and that they wrote in a later age and needed, therefore, to be explicit in designating the opisthodomus that they mention, would hold equally against Lucian. Lucian had greater need

The theory that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis which was used as a treasury was a separate building is not contradicted by any references to it in the literature. The references to it in inscriptions are the following :

οὔτοι δὲ ταμεινόντων ἐμπόλει ἐν τῷ ὀπισθ[οδό]μῳ τὰ τῶν θεῶν χρήματα, ὅσα δυνατὸν καὶ ὅσιον, καὶ συναυγιόντων καὶ συγκληόντων τὰς θύρας τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου καὶ συσσημαινόντων τοῖς τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας ταμίαις. *CIA.* I. 32 A, 15-18.

[ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκ τῶν διακοσίων ταλάντων, ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἐψήφισται ὁ δῆμος τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ἀποδοθῇ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, ταμεινέσθω τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηναίας χρήματα ἐν τῷ] ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ τοῦ ὀπισ[θοδόμου], τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θ[εῶν] ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀρ[ιστερ]ᾷ. *CIA.* I. 32 B, 20-24.

τάδε παρέδωκαν οἱ ταμίαι Φωκιάδης ἐξ Οἴου καὶ ξυνάρχοντες, ἐπὶ Σ[τρα]τοκλέους ἀρχοντος κ[αὶ] ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἡ Πλ[ειστίας] πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε, στρατηγοὺς περὶ Πελοπόννησον Δημοσθένης Ἀλκισθένης Ἀφιδναῖος ἐπὶ τῆς . . . ἡίδος] πρυτανείας τετάρτης [πρυτα]νεούσης, τρίτη ἡμ[έ]ρα τῆς πρυτανείας ἐ[σ]εληλυθίας, ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθ[οδόμου]. ♀ ♀ ♀ *CIA.* I. 273, ab, 16-20.

καταθεῖναι ἐν [πόλει . . . θ]εν τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου ἐπ[ὶ] τῆς Ἰππωθωντίδος πρυτανείας]. *CIA.* I. 109.¹

ταμίαις τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τοῖς] ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τήμονος] ἀρχοντος, οἷς] Δωρόθεος . . . ἐγραμμάτευε], κατὰ ψή[φισμα] τοῦ δήμου παρέδομεν] ὑποθέμ[ενοι] τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐν τῷ] ὀπισθοδ[όμῳ] . . .]. *CIA.* IV. 225 c (p. 168), A, col. II. 31-36.

[ὀπισ]θοδόμου. *CIA.* I. 191, 3.

to be explicit than Plutarch. If Lucian, in the passage just quoted from his *Τίμων*, where he is undoubtedly referring to the Athenian treasury, had said τὸν ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος, as does Plutarch, the determination of the question now at issue would probably not be regarded doubtful. The fact that he does not do this, but uses simply the expression τὸν ὀπισθόδομον, is in itself a strong argument that he is referring to some other opisthodomus than that named by Plutarch.

¹ "Derartige genauere Lokalbestimmungen sind uns ja in grosser Zahl erhalten, aber ich kenne kein Beispiel, in dem lediglich der Theil eines Tempels zum Ausgangspunkt einer solchen Orientirung gemacht worden wäre. Auch hier empfängt man (wie *CIA.* I. 32 bei ἐμπόλει ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ) unmittelbar den Eindruck, dass unter 'Opisthodomos' ein selbständiger Bau zu verstehen sei." Milchhöfer, *Philol.* 1894, LIII. p. 358.

ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθοδό[μου]. *Sitz. Ber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1887, p. 1201, no. 45, 11.

τάδε ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τῆς Βραυρων[όθε]ν· ἱππικὸς κεκρύφαλος, ἐχθῆνια, Ξενότιμος Καρκίνου ἀνέθηκε. *CIA.* II. 652 B, 23, 24. Repeated in *CIA.* II. 660, 61, 62.

[ὀπισθοδό]μον. *CIA.* II. 685, 2.

[ὀπισθ]οδόμον. *CIA.* II. 720 A, col. II. 6. ὀπισθοδόμος. *Id.* B, col. I. 32.

[τ]ῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ὀπ[ισθοδόμου]. *CIA.* II. 721 B, col. II. 19.

[τάδε προσπαρέδοσαν] ταμίαι οἱ ἐπ[ὶ] Λυκίσκου ἀρχοντο]ς ταμ[ίαις] τ]οῖς ἐπὶ Πυθοδότ[ου] χαλκοθήκης ἐν τῷ ὀπ[ισθ]ο(δ)ό(μ)ω[ι]. σκ[εύη] κρ[εμαστά]. *CIA.* II. 721 B, col. II. 21-23.

The striking fact here, as before, is that the great treasure-house of Athens is referred to simply as ὁ ὀπισθοδόμος. Whatever other information about it we may be able to gather from these important records, there certainly is no implication in any one of them that the Opisthodomus mentioned was the western chamber or chambers of the cella either of the Parthenon or of the Hecatompedon.

The case, therefore, now stands as follows: The assumption that the Opisthodomus was not a separate building involves the rejection of the testimony quoted above of the scholiasts and lexicographers, who were drawing on good sources and whose special purpose was a definition. The authors and inscriptions, on the contrary, say nothing about the situation of the Opisthodomus because they unconsciously assume that this is known. On the other hand, the assumption that the Opisthodomus was a separate building, a fact clearly declared by the scholiasts and lexicographers, finds no contradiction in passages in the authors or in inscriptions that refer to the Opisthodomus, provides a place for the public and sacred treasure before the building of the Parthenon, and is further supported by independent considerations of weight. In other words this theory reconciles the evidence.

The direct discussion of the main thesis of this paper, that the Opisthodomus was a separate building, is now finished. The question of its situation still remains. If it was not the rear chamber or chambers of an existing temple, either the Parthenon or the Heca-

tompedon, but a separate building, where on the Acropolis was it situated? This is in itself an interesting question, but there is a stronger reason for its consideration. The proposition that the Opisthodomus was a separate building will be corroborated, if it can be shown with reasonable probability where it stood, and if that conclusion is seen to conflict in no way with the ancient testimony that has come down to us in regard to it.

In the consideration of this question, as before, and for the same reason, we expect no help from the authors and inscriptions; the scholiasts and lexicographers, however, do give us information. They say that the Opisthodomus lay *behind the temple of Athena*, and specifically *behind the temple of Athena Polias*. If, further, the generally accepted¹ restoration of ἀρχαίου in *CIA.* iv. 1. 28 be allowed, we have evidence that money was kept, although the Opisthodomus is not here named, *behind the old temple of Athena*, ὁπισθ]εν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίας[ς ἀρχαίου νε]ῶ ἐμ πόλει, at least as early as 460 B.C.²

What was the temple of Athena Polias? Until very recently there was but one answer to this question. The term Πολιάς, when used of the protecting goddess of Athens, was the epithet of Athena in her oldest temple on the Acropolis, and this oldest temple, ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεῶς, was the Erechtheum or the temple that preceded it on the same site. The eastern chamber of the cella of this temple had been from early times the shrine of the ancient wooden image of the goddess. Here, and nowhere else on the Citadel, she was worshipped under the title of Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάς.

On the discovery of the Hecatompodon, Dörpfeld took issue with the prevailing view. The oldest temple on the Acropolis, he said, was the Hecatompodon, not the Erechtheum, which was only a shrine of Erechtheus; the Hecatompodon was the original temple of Athena Polias, but not the only one; the temple of Athena Polias *par excellence* was the Parthenon.³

¹ It is accepted among others by Kirchhoff, Dittenberger, Dörpfeld, Curtius, Frazer, and Furtwängler.

² Quoted in part on p. 12. See also below, p. 45. Whether we read ὁπισθ]εν or νότοθ]εν does not, as we shall see, affect the result.

³ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, xii. p. 190 ff.

Dörpfeld's attempt to wrest the names, *old temple*, *temple of Athena Polias*, from the Erechtheum has not met with acceptance. It has been considered and successively rejected by Petersen,¹ Curtius,² Frazer,³ and Michaelis,⁴ all of whom maintain the traditional view that the oldest temple of Athena on the Acropolis was the temple of Athena Polias, and that this was the Erechtheum.⁵ The discovery of the Hecatompædon modifies the traditional view only to the extent of making the designation of the Erechtheum as "the old temple" necessary at an earlier period than the building of the Parthenon, *i.e.* it was "the old temple" as compared with the Hecatompædon, not with the Parthenon.

The question at issue is large, and its discussion has been able and searching. Strong arguments have been advanced in support of the traditional view.⁶ Since they were made, a new element has been introduced into the discussion by Furtwängler, who in the remarkable book already mentioned⁷ has published a new and startling hypothesis in regard to the Hecatompædon. Neither his view nor Dörpfeld's seems to me tenable, and I now purpose to state as briefly as possible the reasons why I am not able to accept either of them. It will be possible to consider the question here only in its most important aspects.

It is an essential part of Dörpfeld's theory that, in the time prior to the building of the present Erechtheum, the worship of Erechtheus was maintained in a separate temple. He believes that the Hecatompædon was "the old temple" and belonged exclusively to Athena, and that beside it, but separate from it, was the shrine of Erechtheus.⁸

¹ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 62 ff.

² *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, 1891, pp. 124, 151.

³ *Jour. Hellen. Stud.* 1892-93, XIII. p. 153 ff.

⁴ *Altattische Kunst*, 1893, p. 16. See also *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1889, XIV. p. 349 (note the title).

⁵ Lolling also denies that the Parthenon could have been called the temple of Athena Polias ('Αθηναία, 1890, II. p. 661, note 4), but shares Dörpfeld's opinion that after the Parthenon began to be built the Hecatompædon could be called ἀρχαῖος or παλαιὸς νέος (p. 643).

⁶ See in particular Frazer's able discussion, *Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII. pp. 167-185.

⁷ See p. 2, note 2.

⁸ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 199.

This view cannot be reconciled with the evidence of Homer in the following passage :

οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, ἐκτίμενον πολίεθρον,
 δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγάλητορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
 θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ Ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα,
 καδ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃς εἶσεν, ἐφ' ἐν πίοι νηφ'·
 ἔνθα δέ μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἄρνοιος ἱλάονται
 κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν·
 τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευ' υἱὸς Πετεῶο Μενεσθεύς. *Il.* II. 546-552.

The passage establishes the following facts. According to the poet's conception, at a time antecedent to the Trojan War, Athena possessed a rich temple at Athens, and in this temple, her own temple, she established Erechtheus. Here, in the poet's time, the Athenian youth offered Erechtheus sacrifice. In the passage it is important to note that *ποτ'* refers to a time prior to the time of the main verb *εἶχον*; that *εἶσεν* denotes permanent establishment; that *νηφ'* indisputably means *temple*; that this temple was Athena's; and that *μίν* refers to Erechtheus.¹ All scholars are agreed that the temple referred to was the oldest temple of Athena on the Acropolis. The oldest temple on the Acropolis was, therefore, a temple of the joint worship of Athena and Erechtheus. The tradition of this joint worship was maintained to the latest times.²

A celebrated passage in Strabo (IX. 16, p. 396) is, as I think, decisive against the view that the Hecatompedon was "the old temple."³ Dörpfeld now maintains⁴ that Strabo's statement in this passage is

¹ Dörpfeld says (*ibid.* p. 27, note): "Unter *μίν* kann man auch den Erechtheus verstehen; doch bezieht man es gewöhnlich wegen des unmittelbar vorhergehenden *ἐφ' ἐν πίοι νηφ'* auf Athena." What editor of Homer refers *μίν* to Athena? The tradition that it refers to Erechtheus is an ancient tradition. And for the best of reasons. Bulls were not offered to Athena, but heifers. Cf. *Il.* VI. 93, 274, 308, XI. 729, *Od.* III. 382 ff., 418 ff., IV. 764. For a recent expression of opinion on this question, see Rohde, *Psyche*, 1894, I. p. 127, note I.

² An interesting inscription in this connexion is *CIG.* 6280, 30, 31 (= Kaibel, *Ep. Gr.* 1046, 89, 90): καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίη (ποτ') Ἐριχθόνιον βασιλῆα | νηφ' ἐγκατέθηκε συνέστιον ἔμμεναι ἱρῶν.

³ Quoted on p. 29.

⁴ For his earlier views, see *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. pp. 48, 199.

entirely correct, but gives it a startling interpretation. By ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς Strabo means the Hecatompedon; in this, not in the Erechtheum, was the lamp made by Callimachus¹ as well as the old ἀγαλμα of the goddess. It was the original intention of the builders of the present Erechtheum that the old statue should be housed in its eastern chamber, but it never was placed there but remained in the Hecatompedon.² Pausanias in his tour of the Acropolis, Dörpfeld now believes,³ entered the Hecatompedon from the Erechtheum at the point indicated in his book by the words, ἱερὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς κτλ.;⁴ he makes no mention at all of the eastern chamber of the Erechtheum, and indeed he had no occasion, for it contained nothing worthy of description. Only by this unparalleled break with tradition in regard to the place of the lamp and ancient statue can Dörpfeld maintain his view that the Hecatompedon was "the old temple." Scholars who are inclined to accept it must go further, and suppose that Strabo, who is evidently giving a categorical account of the temples of Athena on the Acropolis, fails altogether to mention the Erechtheum, which was certainly in existence in his day, for it still remains.

The difficulties that Dörpfeld encounters in these two passages, not to discuss at this time the remaining literary evidence, are very great. They disappear, if we assume that an Erechtheum, built on the site of the present Erechtheum, was "the old temple." It will, perhaps, make the following argument more easily apprehensible, if I here state what I conceive the facts to have been. Homer's plain language demands a temple of joint worship of Athena and Erechtheus. Such was the Erechtheum. This was the oldest temple on the Acropolis. In time, when the worship of the goddess had grown

¹ On Callimachus, see Furtwängler, *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 437.

² In *CIA*. I. 322, 1, ἐπιστάται τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ ἐν πόλει, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀγαλμα, Dörpfeld understands ἔσται. This is against the usage of Attic speech, and would be hard to parallel. The present ἔσται is to be supplied, according to a well-known idiom, and the words prove clearly enough that at the date of the inscription (archonship of Diocles, 409-8 B.C.) the old image was already in the new Erechtheum, which was completed in the summer of 408 B.C.

³ For his earlier view, see *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 52 ff., 210 f.

⁴ Paus. I. 26. 6.

and her treasure had increased, the Athenians built her a great, new temple.¹ We are informed in a document whose trustworthiness is not disputed that its official title was τὸ Ἑκατόμπεδον.² In contrast with this newer temple, the Erechtheum was now "the old temple," and it kept this designation to the latest times.³ The Hecatompædon, after its destruction by the Persians, was not rebuilt as a temple.⁴ Its intended successor was the earlier Parthenon; its actual successor the Parthenon of Pericles. The Athenians, imme-

¹ This then became *the* temple of Athena, although it was not the sole seat of her worship on the Acropolis, and from this time to the Persian wars any mention simply of the temple of Athena refers to it, unless the context makes clear that the Erechtheum is meant. This doubtless is the temple meant by Herodotus in v. 72, 90, in describing events which occurred at the end of the sixth century. When, on the other hand, at this time the Erechtheum is meant, it is called ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς. Cf. Schol. Arist. *Lys.* 273. Such also are the references to the temple in the time just before and during the destruction of Athens by Xerxes. Cf. Plut. *Cim.* 5; Herod. VIII. 51, 53, 54. In passages, on the other hand, such as those that refer to the sacred snake, which by express testimony dwelt ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως, simply "the temple" is a sufficient designation for the Erechtheum, as in Herod. VIII. 41. See p. 9, note 2.

² See p. 2, note 8 end.

³ For the passages in which the phrase ὁ ἀρχαῖος (παλαιὸς) νεώς occurs, see p. 8, note 4. This exact designation is, of course, not necessary where the context makes clear that the Erechtheum is meant. See note 1 above, and cf. the building inscriptions cited on p. 8, note 5.

⁴ It may here be noted that Dörpfeld repeatedly asserts that Herod. v. 77 proves that the Hecatompædon was so rebuilt after the Persian wars (*Mitth. d. Inst. Athen.*, 1887, XII. pp. 31, 36, 200). One is at a loss to understand what he means when he says (*ibid.* p. 27) "an den Parthenon zu denken, wie es bisher geschah, ist nicht möglich." Who has believed that Herodotus refers to the Parthenon? Since Dörpfeld holds that the western chambers of the Hecatompædon were a treasury, and not the seat of a cult, in asserting that Herodotus refers to them in v. 77 in the words τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένον, he ignores the author's use of the word μέγαρον. By μέγαρον Herodotus refers to the *cella* of a temple where is established the worship of a god. So of the temple at Delphi, I. 47, 65, VII. 140; of the temple of Hephaestus in Egypt, II. 141; of Zeus Ammon, II. 143; of Demeter in Paros, VI. 134; and finally of Athena on the Acropolis, VIII. 53. It is extremely improbable, therefore, that in v. 77 he applies the word to rooms used for semi-secular purposes. The Erechtheum, on the contrary, which at this time had been again rebuilt (see the next note), exactly meets the demands, for here, in the western half, was established the worship of Erechtheus.

diately after their return on the final withdrawal of the Persians, rebuilt the ancient temple of the joint worship of Athena and Erechtheus,¹ and this subserved alone the purpose of the worship of the goddess until the completion of the present Parthenon, for the earlier Parthenon was never completed. Toward the end of the fifth century the Erechtheum, which had been hastily reconstructed after the Persian wars, was replaced by the present structure,² but it kept the name by which it had been known of "the old temple." The traditions connected with its site were among the holiest possessions of the Attic race.

The most recent contribution to the discussion of the temples of Athena on the Acropolis has been made, as has been said, by Furtwängler. He believes with Dörpfeld that the Hecatompèdon was the first great temple on the Acropolis, but maintains that this was an Erechtheum, the original Erechtheum, where first was established the joint worship of Athena and Erechtheus. When the present Erechtheum was built, the Hecatompèdon was entirely removed. Its traditions and epithets were transferred bodily to the new temple on the new site, which now, therefore, became "the old temple" of Athena. Previously the Hecatompèdon had been "the old temple." This view avoids many of the difficulties which beset Dörpfeld's theory.

¹ Cf. Herod. VIII. 55, quoted on p. 25. Writing sometime before 420 B.C., *i.e.* before the present Erechtheum was begun, the historian says, "There *is* on the Acropolis a temple of Erechtheus," and proceeds to speak of the olive and salt-spring as then actually existing in the temple. The present *ἔστι* proves that an Erechtheum was in existence at the time of writing. Frazer, who fails to take this passage into account, says (*Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII. p. 169) that "after its destruction in 480 B.C., the Erechtheum was not, so far as we know, rebuilt till towards the close of the fifth century B.C.," but he meets a real difficulty in explaining two inscriptions (*CIA.* IV. p. 3; I. 93) which make mention of "the old temple" in such a way as to lead one to believe that the temple was at the time in existence. Further, there are two other passages in Herodotus (v. 77, VIII. 41) which are equally strong proof that the Erechtheum was rebuilt after the Persian wars, if one believes, as Frazer believes, that the Hecatompèdon was not then in existence. In both these passages the historian speaks of the temple as existent, in the first at the time when he visited Athens, in the second at the time of writing.

² It was begun in 420 B.C. and finished in 408 B.C. See Michaelis, *Die Zeit des Neubaus des Poliastempels in Athen*, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1889, XIV. p. 349 ff.

Furtwängler follows Dörpfeld in appealing to existing remains in order to prove the great age of the Hecatompædon. Its peristyle, he says, is not earlier than the time of Hippias, but the naos itself is considerably more ancient; moreover, there lie below it the remains of a yet earlier building.¹ The philologist recognizes that such matters as this, the determination of the age of an ancient temple from its ruins, lie within the province of the expert archaeologist; but when expert archaeologists fail to agree among themselves, he turns for decision to other evidence. Now, three archaeologists of distinction, not at this time to name others, have declared that the Hecatompædon dates from the time of Pisistratus.² Furtwängler's further claim, which had previously been made by Dörpfeld, that no trace (with unimportant exceptions) exists of an older building on the site of the present Erechtheum, is a purely negative argument. This fact does not prove, of course, that such an older Erechtheum never existed. Such traces may in part have entirely disappeared, as he indeed acknowledges; they may in part be concealed by the existing building. The lack of them signifies merely that the existence of an older building cannot be proved by its remains. The question whether there was such a building remains open.

We must appeal to the literature for a decision of the question raised by Furtwängler, whether the Hecatompædon was the original Erechtheum on the Acropolis, and thus "the old temple." Here again we may be disappointed. The total number of references in Greek authors to temples of Athena on the Acropolis to the end of

¹ *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 416. Furtwängler here adduces no proof that this building, attested by slight remains, was a temple.—It has already been pointed out (p. 20) that the much-cited passage from the *Iliad* certifies to a temple of great antiquity, and this must be granted even if we suppose that the passage itself is not older than the sixth century B.C. It is difficult to follow Furtwängler when he says (*l.c.*) that the passage "has in view the stately Hecatompædon with its double cella." The tense of *ἱλάσονται* shows indeed that the poet speaks of sacrifices made to Erechtheus in his own day, but they are offered in the ancient temple, and this he clearly conceives to have been in existence long before the Trojan War, a venerable structure about which centered the earliest religious traditions of the race.

² Petersen, *Mith. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, xii. p. 62 ff.; Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, 1891, p. 71 ff.; Michaelis, *Altattische Kunst*, 1893, p. 16.

the fifth century B.C. is small. Further, in the nature of the case, the majority of these chance references will give us no information on the question at issue. In view of these facts, if any single reference is found to contain positive evidence, especially if this evidence is confirmed by other probable considerations, it must be allowed especial weight. Furtwängler's view, for example, will be discredited, if at the time when he claims, as an essential fact, that the Hecatompædon was the sole temple of Erechtheus on the Acropolis, it can be shown that a trustworthy Greek author testifies that there was another temple there devoted to his worship.

We have such evidence, I think, in Herod. VIII. 51-55. The historian here describes the capture of the Acropolis, the sack of the Hecatompædon, and the destruction of everything on the Citadel by fire. The Hecatompædon, which was at this time *the* temple of Athena on the Acropolis, he calls τὸ ἱρόν (chap. 51 *bis*, 53, 54), and specifically mentions its cella, τὸ μέγαρον,¹ as a place of refuge (chap. 53). He then continues (chap. 55), ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθεὺς τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσᾳ ἔνι. With these words he plainly introduces a new temple to the attention of his hearers. The Ἐρεχθεὺς νηός, here first named, is not the same temple that he has just mentioned repeatedly.² Herodotus, therefore, writing sometime before 420 B.C.,³ *i.e.* before the present Erechtheum was begun, testifies to two temples on the Acropolis, a temple of Athena and an Erechtheum.

¹ For the use of μέγαρον in Herodotus, see page 22, note 4.

² It may be urged that τὸ ἱρόν in chap. 51-54 does not mean *temple*, but *sanctuary*, *i.e.* τέμενος. The ambiguity of the word is well known. But even if we grant that ἱρόν has that meaning in these chapters, the force of the phrasing at the beginning of chap. 55 remains the same, for the Hecatompædon has been brought clearly before the mind of the hearer by the direct mention of its μέγαρον in chap. 53. Nor can νηός in chap. 55 be given the meaning *cella* or *chamber*, and the word be made to refer to a part of the Hecatompædon, for in that case Herodotus would not have written ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ, but would have said ἔστι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦτω (*i.e.* τῷ Ἐκατομπέδῳ) Ἐρεχθεὺς . . . νηός, or something of the sort. One could not speak of "a chamber on the Acropolis" without immediate mention of the structure of which it was a part.

³ Kirchhoff, *Entstehungszeit des herodotischen Geschichtswerkes*², 1878, concludes that Herodotus died in 428 B.C. The absence of later allusions in his history shows that his death occurred at least before 420.

This interpretation of the reference in Ἐρεχθέος νηός is made certain by a statement in the passage itself. This statement proves that the temple called Ἐρεχθέος νηός cannot be the Hecatompædon. Herodotus says that the sacred tokens, the olive and the salt-spring, were “in the temple.” His words are ἐν τῷ (i.e. ἐν τῷ νηῷ) ἐλαίῃ κτλ.¹ The tokens we know were on the low ground to the north of the higher plateau on which stood the Hecatompædon. They were certainly not in that temple.² The difficulty caused by the language of the historian is so great that Furtwängler proposes to emend the passage and read σηκός for νηός, but he offers no critical reason for the change, and none exists.³ It is made to meet an exigency in argument and cannot be allowed. If allowed, it would bring a new element of confusion into the discussion in establishing a σηκός of Erechtheus distinct and apart from his νηός.

The conclusion, adverse to Furtwängler's theory, to which we have been brought is confirmed by other considerations which discredit the assumption that the Hecatompædon was the original Erechtheum. On this assumption the traditions connected with the early worship of Athena and with the worship of Erechtheus, and the epithets of the temple of their joint worship, must be transferred bodily at the end of the fifth century B.C. to a new temple. Not only is it inherently more probable that they had always belonged to the site to which a later age undoubtedly attached them, but positive considerations also make it extremely unlikely that they had previously belonged to the Hecatompædon. For example, ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς was an official title of the Erechtheum in the fourth century.⁴ This same term is applied to a temple on the Acropolis in reference to an event

¹ On the place of the olive, see p. 39, note 6.

² In speaking of the present Erechtheum (*Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 433), Furtwängler makes an important admission: “The choice of site was determined by the consideration of keeping near the sacred ‘tokens’; in fact, the temple was to be even more closely attached to these than its predecessor had been; the cleft in the rock was included within the building.” This is precisely what the passage quoted from Herodotus proves for the Erechtheum that preceded the present Erechtheum.

³ *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 416, note 9.

⁴ *CIA.* II. 74 a, 14; 163, 9; 464, 6; 672, 43; 733 A, col. II. 6. The temple was not, then, called so simply “in common parlance” (Furtwängler, *ibid.* p. 433).

that occurred before 500 B.C.¹ The title in the latter instance is meaningless on the assumption that the Hecatompodon was the only temple here at this time. Again, two inscriptions which date from the first half of the fifth century B.C. mention "the old temple" officially.² This was the Hecatompodon, it is asserted, and it was called "old" in contrast to the earlier Parthenon. But this Parthenon never got beyond its foundations, and further, we have unimpeachable evidence that the official name of the Hecatompodon was τὸ Ἑκατόμπεδον. These three references to an ἀρχαῖος νεώς are, on the other hand, perfectly applicable to an older Erechtheum on the site of the present Erechtheum, designated as "the old temple" in contrast with the Hecatompodon.

The assumption further that the Hecatompodon was the original Erechtheum involves a complete change of site for that building at the end of the fifth century. The sole reason alleged for this is that the Athenians desired to bring the temple into closer connexion with the 'tokens.'³ But this alleged fact would lead us rather to conclude that the tokens mark the original site of the temple. Moreover, it is a commonplace that Greek religious feeling demanded that a temple when rebuilt should occupy its old site. The exceptions, especially when at the same time the old temple was removed (the fact claimed in this instance), are few indeed, and there are always adequate reasons. Such reasons do not exist in this case. The alleged change of site, on the contrary, necessitated a vital change in the principle of construction, for the present Erechtheum stands on different levels; gave the temple a cramped situation hard upon the north wall of the Acropolis; and reduced its size. And yet this is the temple, it is claimed, that was built by the opponents of the policy of Pericles to replace the stately Hecatompodon. Furtwängler further argues that the Erechtheum in its interior arrangement repeats the Hecatompodon;⁴ but if this statement is to be used as an argument

¹ Schol. Arist. *Lys.* 273.

² *CIA.* IV. I. c, 27 (p. 3 f.); I. 93, 6.

³ "It was in fact simply in order to attain this object that the position of the temple had been changed at all." Furtwängler, *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 436. See also p. 433.

⁴ *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, pp. 433 ff.

to prove that the former was the successor of the latter, comparison must be instituted between the two temples entire. The Hecatompedon was a Doric temple,¹ built on one level; it was a peristyle, with porticos and entrances at the east and west. The Erechtheum is an Ionic temple, built on different levels; it is not a peristyle; it has a portico on the east, but none on the west, and quite irregularly, has porticos with entrances also on the north and south. The sole point of resemblance is the division of the cella into three compartments by cross-walls, and even this resemblance is disturbed by the difference of level in the Erechtheum between the two western chambers and the eastern chamber.² The two temples are not similar, but strikingly dissimilar. The closer the comparison we make of them, the more we are impressed with the structural peculiarities of the Erechtheum. It is here important to note that to Dörpfeld the groundplan of the Hecatompedon seems to be strikingly similar to that of the Parthenon.³ This accords excellently with the view that the Hecatompedon, an exclusive temple of Athena, was the forerunner, not of the Erechtheum, but of the Parthenon.

In view of these considerations the assumption that the Hecatompedon was the original Erechtheum seems to me improbable, if not impossible. It is more natural to suppose that from the earliest times there had stood on the site of the present Erechtheum a temple that had been built over the sacred tokens and had accommodated itself to the original level; and that finally the present Erechtheum was built in imitation, not of the Hecatompedon, but of its own predecessors. This view is not contradicted by existing remains, is supported by positive evidence, does not force us to shift traditions and epithets, involves no change of site for the Erechtheum, and adequately explains its structural peculiarities.

¹ This is the opinion of its discoverer. See *Mith. d. Inst. Athen*, 1886, XI. pp. 347 ff.

² Furtwängler assumes also that the central chamber of the Erechtheum was divided by an east and west wall into two compartments. This would be another point of similarity, but he himself acknowledges that no traces of such a cross-wall exist. *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 433, note 5.

³ "Jedem wird sofort die grosse Aehnlichkeit zwischen diesem Grundriss und demjenigen des Parthenon auffallen." *Mith. d. Inst. Athen*, XI. 1886, p. 340.

Another preliminary inquiry, important for the determination of the situation of the Opisthodomus, remains to be briefly considered. When ancient Greek writers, referring to a building on the Acropolis, speak of "the temple of Athena Polias," which of the temples of Athena do they mean? As has been pointed out,¹ Dörpfeld maintains that the chief temple of Athena Polias was the Parthenon. This title, he says, was given also to the Hecatompedon, both before and after the building of the Parthenon, but *the* temple of Athena Polias was the Parthenon. He claims further that the official name of the Parthenon in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. was either δ νεώς or δ νεὺς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος.²

If these claims are valid, we shall reasonably expect to find them confirmed by the references to the temple of Athena Polias in Greek authors and inscriptions. The following are all the passages, so far as I know, in which the expression "temple of Athena Polias" occurs, with the exception of the passage whose proper interpretation we are now trying to reach.³

1. κῶν εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεὺν εἰσελθοῦσα, καὶ δῶσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσιον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβάσα τοῦ Ἐρκείου Διός, τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ, κατέκειτο. Philochorus frg. 146 in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* I. p. 408 (Dion. Hal. *de Din.* 3).

2. τὸ δ' ἄστν αὐτὸ πέτρα ἐστὶν ἐν πεδίῳ περιρικουμένη κύκλῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ὃ τε ἀρχαῖος νεὺς τῆς Πολιάδος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος, καὶ ὁ Παρθενὼν ὃν ἐποίησεν Ἰκτῖνος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ Φειδίου ἔργον ἐλεφάντινον ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. Strabo IX. 16, p. 396.

3. ἄγε δὴ, πάρεσμεν γὰρ ἔνθα χρῆν· ἐνταῦθά που ἐν τῷ προνάῳ τῆς Πολιάδος δικάσωμεν. ἡ ἱέρεια διάθες τὰ βάθρα, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν τοσούτῳ προσκνήσωμεν τῇ θεῇ. Luc. *Pisc.* 21.

4. κείται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα. Paus. I. 27. 1.

¹ See p. 18.

² "Wenn wir also von *dem* Tempel schlechthin oder von *dem* Tempel der Athena Polias lesen, so müssen wir annehmen, dass der Parthenon gemeint ist. Dieser war mithin der Haupttempel der Athena Polias." *Mith. d. Inst. Athen.*, 1887, XII. p. 193. See also *ibid.* p. 196.

³ Schol. V Arist. *Plut.* 1193, quoted on p. 4.

5. παρθένοι δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἄρρηφόρους. Paus. I. 27. 3.

6. τί δαὶ Ἐριχθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Πολιάδος κεκῆδευται; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* III. p. 13 Sylb.

7. οἷος δ' ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος νεὼς καὶ τὸ πλησίον τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τέμενος· συνήψαμεν γὰρ διὰ τῶν ἀνακτόρων τοὺς θεοὺς ἀλλήλοις μετὰ τὴν ἄμιλλαν. Himerius, *Ecl.* v. 30.

8. δύο εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως Ἀθηνᾶς ναοί, ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος καὶ ἡ χρυσελεφαντίνη, ἣν ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν σκύλων κατεσκεύασαν Φειδίου πλάσαντος. Schol. Arist. *Eg.* 1169.

9. Βούτης ἀπ' Ἐρεχθέως τὸ γένος ἔχει, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖται τι Ἀθήνησι γένος Ἐτεοβουτάδαι, οἱ τῷ ὄντι ἀπὸ τοῦ Βούτου. οὗτοι προΐστανται τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς ἐν ἀκροπόλει Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος. Schol. Aesch. II. 147.

10. διὸ κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Ἀθήνησιν Αἰδοῦς καὶ Ἀφελείας ἦν βωμὸς περὶ τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς νεών, καθὰ καὶ Πausanίας ἱστορεῖ, ἃς οἱ μὲν παιδαγωγούς, οἱ δὲ τροφούς τῆς θεᾶς γενέσθαι φασίν. Eustath. II. XXII. 451, p. 1279, 40.

11. οἷ φασιν, ὡς ἐκείθεν, καὶ οἰκουρὸς δράκων, φύλαξ τῆς Πολιάδος, ἧγουν ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Πολιάδος διαιτώμενος. Eustath. *Od.* I. 357, p. 1423, 8.

12. καὶ ἀναγράψα[ι αὐτὴν τὸν γρ]αμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ χαλκ[ῇ καὶ στήσαι ἐ]ν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πο[λιάδος]. *CIA.* II. 332, l. 42 ff.

13. [στήσαι δὲ] αὐτοῦ καὶ [εἰ]κόν[α] χαλκῇν ἐ[φ'] ἵππου τὸν δῆμον παρὰ τὸν νεὼ τ[ὸν] ἀρχαῖον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τ[ῆς] Πολιάδος]. *CIA.* II. 464, l. 4 ff.

14. [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα τ]ὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν εἰς (σ)τήλην λιθ[ίνην τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παρθένων καὶ ἀναθε]ῖναι ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθη[νᾶς τῆς] Πολιάδος, ἵνα τούτων συντελουμένων ᾗ]. υῥητος ἡ [γεγ]ον[εῖα] ὑπ' [αὐτῷ]ν περὶ ταῦτα σ[πουδῇ καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ]. *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen.* 1883, VIII. p. 59, 23 ff.

“The temple of Athena Polias” named in the first of the passages here quoted cannot be the Parthenon, because of the immediate proximity of the Pandroseum. In the second the language of the writer excludes that supposition. The same fact is true also in the eighth, however much the form of statement may have suffered in its transmission to us. In the fourth and fifth passages Pausanias

has already described the Parthenon and is now on the north side of the Acropolis. The temple named in the sixth passage also cannot be the Parthenon; Erichthonius was identical with Erechtheus,¹ and the seat of the worship of Erechtheus was the Erechtheum. Similarly in the seventh, Himerius is speaking of the place of the joint worship of Athena and Posidon-Erechtheus.² The priestly family of the Eteobutads mentioned in the ninth cannot be dissevered from the Erechtheum.³ So in the third the pronaos of the Erechtheum is meant, since Aeschines tells us⁴ that the priestess of Athena Polias was chosen from the family of the Eteobutads. It will be claimed by nobody that the sacred snake spoken of in the eleventh passage had its dwelling-place in the Parthenon; and until we get proof to the contrary we have the right to conclude that Eustathius does not mean in the tenth passage by "the temple of Polias" any other temple than the one so named in the eleventh passage.⁵

If these conclusions are sound, no Greek author has called the Parthenon "the temple of Athena Polias."

It is here instructive to note what the great temple *is* called during the period of the writers quoted above. It had a perfectly established name. This was ὁ Παρθενών. It is thus called by Demosthenes, Heraclides (Dicaearchus), Strabo, Plutarch, Pausanias, Aelian, Philostratus, Zosimus, Marinus, a Scholiast on Demosthenes, Harpocration, Hesychius, the Etymologicum Magnum, and Suidas.⁶ It is incredible that the Parthenon should, as it is claimed, have been *the* temple of Athena Polias, and should be mentioned so often in Greek authors, and yet that its so-called distinctive title should nowhere occur.

Dörpfeld claims that ὁ νεώς was an official title of the Parthenon in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. He fails to quote a single

¹ See Rohde, *Psyche*, 1894, I. p. 128.

² On Posidon-Erechtheus, see the passages in Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. descrip. arc. Athen.* 1880, p. 23 (c. 26, 27).

³ Cf. Paus. I. 26. 5; [Plut.] *Vit. X. Or.* 843 b.

⁴ Aesch. II. 147.

⁵ Dörpfeld also (*Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 206, note) thinks that the Parthenon is not meant in the tenth passage.

⁶ See the passages in Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. descrip. arc. Athen.* 1880, p. 13 ff.

inscription in which the Parthenon is called $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$. Even in Greek authors it is thus designated only twice,¹ and both these authors, so ambiguous is the expression as they have used it, have here been charged with looseness of style. Again, the only inscriptions in which the phrase $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθηνᾶς} \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδος}$ occurs are the two from which the twelfth and fourteenth passages given above are quoted. In the second of these two inscriptions, it will be observed, Πολιάδος is due to restoration. And yet on the basis solely of these two inscriptions, by combination with the inscription from which the thirteenth passage is quoted, where also Πολιάδος is due to restoration, Dörpfeld establishes $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθηνᾶς} \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδος}$ as the other official name of the Parthenon. He adds, without proof, that this was probably its name also in current speech during the first century of its existence.² He seeks to establish this official title as follows. The designation $\delta \alpha\rho\chiαῖος \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ in official documents proves the existence of a new temple. This was the Parthenon, $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$. In another official document (thirteen above) mention is made of an $\alpha\rho\chiαῖος \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθηνᾶς} \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδος}$. This name proves in like manner the existence of a new temple of Athena Polias, and in fact, he says, mention of a $\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθηνᾶς} \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδος}$ (the phrase is not, it will be observed, $\delta \kappaαινὸς \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθηνᾶς} \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδος}$) occurs twice in official documents (twelve and fourteen above). Since now the $\alpha\rho\chiαῖος \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθηνᾶς} \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδος}$ is identical with the $\alpha\rho\chiαῖος \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, it follows that the $\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθηνᾶς} \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδος}$ is identical with the temple concisely called $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$. The latter is the Parthenon. The official title, therefore, $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθηνᾶς} \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδος}$, belongs to the Parthenon.

This conclusion is unsound because it rests on unestablished premises. In the first place, the assumption is made that $\delta \alpha\rho\chiαῖος \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ means the Hecatompedon. But other scholars believe (and prove to their own satisfaction !) that "the old temple" is the Erechtheum. In that case "the new temple" is the Hecatompedon. Again, it does not follow that the antithesis to "the old temple of Athena Polias" is "the new temple of Athena Polias." This assumption begs

¹ Xen. *Hellen.* II. 3. 20; Aristot. *hist. an.* VI. 24, p. 577 B, 29.

² *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 197 f.

the question. The expression $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθην\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιά-} \delta\omicron\varsigma$ may have arisen in some other way than the one assumed. The latter puts a relative emphasis on the word $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ for which the warrant is not forthcoming. Let us assume that the Erechtheum was called sometimes $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, sometimes $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθην\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδ}\omicron\varsigma$. The combination of the two titles would give, as Petersen long ago pointed out,¹ $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθην\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδ}\omicron\varsigma$, "the old temple belonging to Athena Polias." This interpretation is, at least, as good a working assumption as the other.² Finally, it does not follow that the temple named $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθην\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδ}\omicron\varsigma$ is identical with the temple called simply $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ (if there was, indeed, such a temple). This claim rests on an assumption which also begs the question, namely that the phrases $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθην\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδ}\omicron\varsigma$ and $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ are equivalent to $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta \kappa\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθην\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδ}\omicron\varsigma$ and $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta \kappa\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$, which occur nowhere. If they did occur, everybody would agree that there were at least two temples of Athena Polias on the Acropolis, and the reader would be spared the present discussion. But even if the conclusion did follow, we could not infer on that account that $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'Αθην\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδ}\omicron\varsigma$ was a name of the Parthenon until it was established that $\delta \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ was an official designation of the Parthenon. No proof of that, as I have said above, has been offered.

The only safe conclusions that can be drawn about the expression "the temple of Athena Polias" in the three inscriptions quoted above are that in the first the application of the phrase is indeterminable; that in the second it cannot mean the Parthenon, since the temple is there called $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$; and that in the third whatever indications we have point to the Erechtheum, since the girls there honoured were those who prepared the wool for Athena's robe, and the peplos, as we know, belonged to the old statue in the old temple.³ But the inference is, of course, not certain that the stele in their honour was on that account set up beside that temple, although the fact is probable.

¹ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 65.

² It is with reasonable certainty the true interpretation. Cf. Strabo ix. 16 (quoted on p. 29), where the contrasted titles of the temples are $\delta \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \text{Πολιάδ}\omicron\varsigma$ and $\delta \text{Παρθεν}\omicron\nu$.

³ See on the last point Furtwängler, *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 427.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the phrase "the temple of the Polias" does not mean, in any of the fourteen passages quoted above, the Parthenon. The question is now narrowed to the two remaining temples. It is here proper to call attention to the fact that we are certain of the existence of only one of these, the Erechtheum, at the time covered by the passages; we have to assume the existence of the Hecatompodon during the fourth century B.C. and the following centuries in order to bring it within consideration at all. Dörpfeld believes that the Hecatompodon was in existence at this time, and that it was, as it always had been, an exclusive temple of Athena; the worship of Erechtheus was confined to the Erechtheum, the present structure, which had replaced the earlier shrine.

The three inscriptions may be dismissed at once. They are indecisive, except so far as the considerations already presented in the case of the third make for the Erechtheum.¹

The passages from the authors demand brief consideration. It should be noted that they all speak of "the temple of the Polias" as if there were only one such temple. They all indicate, I think, that this temple was the Erechtheum.

In the first the bitch enters the temple and *goes down* in order to get into the Pandroseum. The description exactly fits the plan of the Erechtheum. Its eastern chamber is on a higher level than its western chambers, and from the latter there was direct communication on the same level with the Pandroseum. If the Hecatompodon is meant, we must conceive, since only one temple is mentioned, that the creature took a flying leap of over ten feet from the supporting wall of the stereobate of the Hecatompodon at the north-west down into the Pandroseum. This is, at the least, an improbable meaning for *δύσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσιον*. The second passage has already been discussed.² In the third the Hecatompodon cannot be meant, because (besides the consideration urged above) the action of the dialogue would be impossible if the pronaos of that temple were its

¹ If one believes, from independent considerations, that *ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς* always means the Erechtheum, then the second inscription becomes evidence; but it will be well, perhaps, to avoid the possible charge of the 'vicious circle.'

² See p. 20 f.

scene. The Erechtheum would stand directly in the way.¹ To identify the temple named in the fourth passage with the Hecatompodon is, if we follow Dörpfeld's present lead,² to assume that the ξόανον and the lamp of Callimachus were not in the Erechtheum at all; and if on the other hand we suppose that Pausanias entered the Hecatompodon not after 1. 26. 5 but at 1. 27. 1³ and thus place the ξόανον and lamp in the Erechtheum, we must assume that Pausanias makes double application of the word Polias, once to the goddess of the old image in the Erechtheum, for it is clear that he refers to her as Polias in 1. 26. 6,⁴ a second time to the Hecatompodon. If we are convinced by these serious difficulties that by "the temple of the Polias" in the fourth passage Pausanias means the Erechtheum, we establish its application also for the fifth, unless we are ready to believe that he speaks of two distinct temples, both as "the temple of the Polias," within the short space of a dozen lines. The mention of Erichthonius (Erechtheus) and Posidon (Erechtheus)⁵ in the sixth and seventh passages shows that here the Erechtheum is meant, not the Hecatompodon, a temple of the exclusive worship of Athena. In the eighth the very confusion of statement shows that the Scholiast closely associates in his mind the temple of the Polias and her ancient image,⁶ and therefore, if we suppose that by "the temple of the Polias" he means the Hecatompodon, we must remove the image from the Erechtheum. The *ιερόν* mentioned in the ninth must be

¹ Dörpfeld claims that this passage refers to the Parthenon. For his three reasons, see *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 198 f. To these it may be briefly answered that Lucian in the second century A.D. is not likely to have had intimate knowledge of the official phraseology of Attic inscriptions of the fifth century B.C., and further that the inscriptions do *not* add τῆς Πολιάδος to the official form ἐν τῷ Πυρῶνι; that any portico is large enough to accommodate an imaginary assembly (see Frazer, *Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII. p. 182 f.); and that to argue from the reference in the dialogue to the Pelargicon that Lucian must mean the Parthenon is to assume that the situation and extent of the vexed ancient fortification called the Pelargicon are satisfactorily known.

² See p. 21.

³ So Miss Harrison, *Myth. and Mon. of Anc. Athens*, 1890, pp. 508 f.

⁴ See Frazer, *Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII. p. 182.

⁵ See p. 31, notes 1 and 2.

⁶ Cf. schol. Dem. xxii. 13; schol. Arist. *Pan.* 187, 20 (Dind. III. p. 319).

the Erechtheum, for reasons already given.¹ The tenth and eleventh passages hang together, as has already been pointed out, and in interpreting the eleventh we have the express testimony of Hesychius that the snake was housed ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως,² i.e. in the Erechtheum, not in the Hecatompedon.

I conclude, therefore, that when in Greek writers we read of "the temple of Athena Polias" we must understand by it the Erechtheum, and that this conclusion is contradicted by no evidence offered by inscriptions.

This inquiry has been carried further by Frazer, in the article already often cited. He has investigated the word Πολιάς in all its applications, and in my opinion has given a final answer to the doubts raised by Dörpfeld. He has conclusively demonstrated that the word had a local connotation to the mind of a Greek when used with reference to the Acropolis at Athens, and has shown what this connotation is. In order to settle the question of the proper application of the term "Athena Polias" or "the Polias" he collected the passages of classical writers bearing on the Athena Polias of Athens and all places in the Corpus of Attic Inscriptions in which the title occurs, and gave them careful examination.³ In some of these passages, as was to be expected, the application of the term Πολιάς is indeterminable; these passages furnish no indication whether the Athena referred to was the goddess of the Erechtheum, of the Hecatompedon, or of the Parthenon. In the remainder the term is used with reference to the temple, to Athena in close association with Erechtheus, to her ancient image, to the peplos, to the priestess of Athena Polias, to the Errephori, to the sacred serpent, and the like. All the passages whose application is determinable support the view that Athena Polias was the goddess of the Erechtheum, with the

¹ See p. 31, note 3, and Frazer, *Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII. p. 181.

² See p. 9, note 2.

³ I had already begun, with the same purpose, an independent collection of the passages before Frazer's article appeared, and am able to contribute from Greek writers the following slight additions to his extensive list: Aelian, *Var. Hist.* II. 9; Lucian, *Sym.* 32; *Id. Dial. Meret.* VII. 1; Schol. *ad loc.*; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* IV. 52, p. 15 Sylb.; Apoll. *Vit. Aesch.* (quoting Aesch. II. 147); Schol. V Arist. *Eg.* 1169; Schol. Hom. *Od.* XIV. 533; E. M. *s.v.* Ἐρεοβοράδαι. In completing my collections I have had the helpful assistance of Arthur S. Cooley of this University.

exception of two.¹ One of these countenances the view that she was the goddess of the Parthenon,² the other may be so interpreted;³ but the author of the first is a Christian writer living in Egypt in the second century A.D., the author of the second a twelfth century commentator on Homer, and each lays himself open to the charge of contradicting himself.⁴

The result of Frazer's investigation is instructive. The fact that the word Polias, when applied to Athena at Athens, had in the times for which we have literary evidence a distinct local sense confined to one place, shows what our conclusions must be for the earlier times to which our evidence does not extend. "Polias" was probably the oldest title of Athena on the Acropolis, and dates from a remote age. The goddess had then a single temple on the Citadel, the temple of the Polias. The image within the temple was the image of the Polias. Thus the word became closely associated with a place. We have no reason for believing that when the Hecatompedon was built the worship of the Polias was transferred to that temple. We do know that in the earliest times and in the later times it was attached to "the old temple." This conception, that the worship of the Polias remained in "the old temple," in no way conflicts with the supposition that the Hecatompedon also was a temple of the worship of Athena, containing its own image. It was *the* temple of Athena, but not the temple of the Polias. The Parthenon in the next century is an exact parallel in all particulars. The growth of the worship of Athena in the Hecatompedon would tend still more to localize the worship of Athena Polias in the old temple. After the destruction of the Hecatompedon in the Persian wars, the old temple gained in importance. It was doubtless the purpose of Pericles to transfer the worship of Athena Polias to the Parthenon. (That may have been the purpose also of the builders of the Hecatompedon in an earlier age.) But conservative religious feeling and

¹ Frazer (*Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII. p. 184), who believes that the Opisthodomus was the western portico of the Parthenon (see p. 2), adds Schol. V Arist. *Plut.* 1193 (quoted on p. 4).

² Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* IV. 47, p. 13 Sylb.

³ Eustath. *Od.* XI. 634, p. 1704, 30.

⁴ See the discussion, on p. 31, of the sixth and eleventh passages quoted above.

party strife combined to thwart him. The Parthenon was built, but his intention was frustrated. If it had been carried out, the new temple would have become "the temple of the Polias" and the Erechtheum would have been devoted to the exclusive worship of Erechtheus. We know in fact, on unequivocal authority, that the old image was not removed from the old temple.¹ This temple remained, therefore, an important seat of worship of Athena on the Citadel; and we are not surprised to learn by the consentient testimony of writers in the following centuries that it kept the name which first attached to it and continued to be called the temple of the Polias.

After this long, but necessary, consideration of the application of the expressions "old temple" and "temple of Athena Polias," I revert to the question which occasioned it.²

What does Schol. V on Arist. *Plut.* 1193 mean when he says that the Opisthodomus lay *behind the temple of Athena Polias*?

If the front of the old temple of Athena, *i.e.* of the Erechtheum, was at the east of the temple, as was generally true of Greek temples, the Opisthodomus must have lain to the west of it, behind the Pandroseum, and must be sought for there. On this supposition there must have once existed at this place a substantial and independent structure, of the foundations of which, however, no trace has been brought to light by the recent thorough excavation of the Acropolis.

This brings us face to face with a question of great apparent difficulty. Namely, how is it possible that the treasury of Athens, a separate building as has been proved, was called an *opisthodomus*?

Pollux (1. 6) after defining the uses of the word *σηκός* continues: τὸ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρόδομος, καὶ τὸ κάτωπιν ὀπισθόδομος. Varro (*de lingua Lat.* v. § 160, ed. Spengel) gives the same definition: *domus graecum et ideo in aedibus sacris ante cellam, ubi sedes dei sunt, Graeci dicunt πρόδομον, quod post, ὀπισθόδομον*. This use of ὀπισθόδομος, to designate the back portico of a temple, is confirmed by its actual employment in the literature. It is thus applied to the western porticos of the temples of Zeus and of Hera at Olympia.³

¹ See p. 21, n. 2.

² See p. 18.

³ Paus. v. 10. 9; 13. 1; 15. 3; 16. 1; Lucian *Hdt.* 1; *Fug.* 7; *de morte Peregr.* 32.

This established application of the word seems to contradict hopelessly the view that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis was a separate building; but in fact it itself indicates the solution of the difficulty.

Whether in early times the northern or eastern portico of the Erechtheum was regarded the front of the temple cannot be surely determined; but it seems probable that, at least in the time of the sources from which the scholiasts and Harpocration and the other lexicographers drew their information, the front of the temple was thought to be at the north. Here lay the broad portico through which Pausanias entered the temple.¹ If the front of the temple was at the north, the Opisthodomus, which was situated ὀπισθεν τοῦ νεώ, must have lain to the south of the Erechtheum.

Here in fact we find it, the Opisthodomus of the old Hecatompedon, rebuilt, after the destruction of that temple in the Persian wars, to serve as it had served before the coming of Xerxes² as treasury of the gods and of the state. The peristyle of the temple disappeared;³ its eastern chamber was not restored; the Opisthodomus, consisting of the three western rooms and western portico, was alone rebuilt.⁴ This was the Opisthodomus to which reference is made, in the times following the Persian wars, simply as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος; the Θεσαυρός, probably, that was adorned with paintings by Polygnotus;⁵ the ταμείον of the scholiasts and lexicographers that lay "behind the temple of Athena."⁶ Not only its official but also

¹ Paus. I. 26. 6 ff.

² The mention of the ταῦλα in the Hecatompedon inscription (*CIA*. IV. p. 137 ff.) makes this practically certain. See Lolling, *Ἀθηναί*, 1890, II. p. 647 ff.; Dörpfeld, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1890, xv. p. 420 ff.; Frazer, *Jour. Hellen. Stud.* 1892-93, XIII. p. 162, note 24. For the pre-Persian ταῦλα τῆς θεοῦ, see also Hdt. VIII. 51. Furtwängler (*Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 418) denies that the treasury was ever in the Hecatompedon.

³ So also Dörpfeld, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 200.

⁴ See the plan, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1886, XI. p. 337.

⁵ For the date of Polygnotus, see Brunn, *Geschichte d. griech. Künstler*, II. 14 ff.

⁶ The language of Herod. VIII. 55 shows that a Greek felt the Pandroseum to be a part of the Erechtheum, for within it was the sacred olive. It had no roof, but was doubtless enclosed by a wall on the north and west, just as it was shut

its current name was $\delta \delta\pi\iota\sigma\theta\acute{o}\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$.¹ Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and Lucian could so speak of it, without danger of confusion. There was another opisthodomus on the Acropolis, but when this was meant the speaker said $\delta \delta\pi\iota\sigma\theta\acute{o}\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \Pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ or used an equivalent expression.²

This solution, which we owe to the insight of Ernst Curtius,³

in by walls on the east and south. There was direct communication between the north portico of the Erechtheum and the Pandroseum by a separate doorway, and the north portico was centered to the larger structure whose groundplan included the Pandroseum. The Opisthodomus was, quite exactly, 'behind' the temple, conceived in the sense seen in Herodotus.

¹ Frazer (*Jour. Hellen. Stud.* 1892-93, XIII. p. 162 f.) thinks it remarkable, if the Opisthodomus was in use as a treasury after 480 B.C., that the first mention of it occurs in two decrees of 435 B.C., and draws the inference *ex silentio* that there was no Opisthodomus before the completion of the Parthenon. This apparently remarkable fact is accounted for by our lack of documents for the time between 480 and 435 B.C. The name Opisthodomus for the Athenian treasury does not indeed occur in any public document during that time, *nor does any other*. In fact we have only a single reference in all of these years to any *place* on the Acropolis where money was kept (*CIA.* IV. 1, quoted on p. 12 and discussed on p. 45), and yet we know that the sacred and public money-treasure housed on the Acropolis was greater between 454 and 435 B.C. than ever afterwards. Frazer himself says (p. 162) that in this time the Athenians must certainly have had some strong place in which to store the public and sacred treasures, but comes simply to the conclusion that we do not know where this was. In like manner, the fact that the first literary mention of the Opisthodomus occurs in Aristophanes is not proof that it was not in existence during the whole of the fifth century. No author before Aristophanes whose works have come down to us had occasion to mention the exact place where the sacred and public money was kept. It would be as logical to conclude from the silence of these authors that there was no treasury at all as that it was not called $\delta \delta\pi\iota\sigma\theta\acute{o}\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$. Knowing that there was a treasury we are entirely justified, in the absence of all counter-proof, in concluding that the name by which it was designated in the last third of the fifth century and in the fourth century attached to it also in the previous time. I cannot agree with Frazer, further, in thinking that in the two decrees of 435 B.C. (*CIA.* I. 32, A, B, quoted in part on p. 16) the Opisthodomus is mentioned as if it were now for the first time to be used as a treasury. The references to it there (it is called simply $\delta \delta\pi\iota\sigma\theta\acute{o}\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$) seem to me, on the contrary, to imply that it was a well-known place whose use was already established. See p. 46 ff.

² Plut. *Demet.* 23, Aristides, I. p. 548, 14, Dind., quoted on p. 15.

³ Curtius, in the November session of the Archaeological Society of Berlin, 1890 (see *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1890, p. 163): "Der alte Tempel nach der

explains at once the *name* Opisthodomus in its application to the Athenian treasury and some apparently but not really contradictory testimony of the scholiasts. The tradition that this treasury was once in fact the rear chambers in the cella of an actual temple seems certainly to have been preserved during the centuries that followed the invasion of Xerxes. The *name* *ὀπισθόδομος* would serve to keep the tradition alive. Aristophanes and Demosthenes undoubtedly knew what the Opisthodomus was and were acquainted with its history; and the interpreters who first explained their references to it must, with the great resources at their command, have had knowledge of the truth on so important a matter. Schol. V Arist. *Plut.* 1193¹ tells us that the Opisthodomus lay behind the temple of Athena Polias. The sources of the existing scholia on Aristophanes are acknowledged to be excellent. We cannot reasonably refuse to believe, however much we may regret the mutilated form in which the rest of the scholium has been transmitted to us, that the original author of the statement just quoted (Aristophanes of Byzantium or one of his pupils?) knew what he was writing about. He knew that in the time of the poet Aristophanes the Opisthodomus was a separate building, situated, as is here recorded, behind the temple of Athena, and he knew also why it was called *ὀπισθόδομος*, not because it lay behind her temple, but because it had once been the component part of a temple. But had the scholiasts and lexicographers whose comments and definitions have come down to us any knowledge of the true tradition? It is impossible to say. Two facts are here most important to note. First, it is certain that they knew what the normal opisthodomus was, namely the rear part of a building. Temples with opisthodomoi were extant for a long time. We have mention of the opisthodomus of a temple in so late an author

Zerstörung durch die Perser wurde nur in seinem Hinterhause wieder aufgebaut, um als Schatzkammer zu dienen. Es sind zahlreiche Zeugnisse vorhanden nach denen der Opisthodom ein selbständiges Gebäude der Akropolis gewesen sein muss." See also *Stadtgeschichte*, 1891, pp. 132, 152. I came independently to the conclusion that the Opisthodomus must have been a separate building, convinced by the testimony of the scholiasts and lexicographers, but erred at first in supposing that it lay on the lower ground due west of the Erechtheum. Curtius's suggestion has been received with favour.

¹ Quoted on p. 4.

as Achilles Tatius.¹ What we should expect to find, therefore, in the scholiasts and lexicographers is the definition of the normal opisthodomus. Secondly, what we do find in them in the main is something very different. I call attention again to the passages quoted on pp. 3, 4 of this article. Milchhöfer points out that it is remarkable that these scholiasts and lexicographers do not give us the definition that we should expect.² They define the *ὀπισθόδομος* as a building that lay *ὀπισθεν τοῦ νεώ*, they do not define it as *τὸ ὀπισθεν μέρος τοῦ νεώ*. It is common to discredit these late writers, and to say that they 'etymologized,' but etymologizing here would have given the second definition, and that definition would have exactly described the sort of opisthodomus they knew about. Their persistent statement, therefore, that the Opisthodomus lay behind the temple of Athena, must be the record of a *fact*. This fact they had inherited from a trustworthy source. It is no paradox to say that it becomes even more credible as a fact, so contrary is it to what we should expect them to say, on the assumption that they did not fully understand it.

This statement that the Opisthodomus lay "behind the temple of Athena" appears persistently in slightly varying form in nearly all the ancient explanations of the *ὀπισθόδομος* that have come down to us. Sometimes there is added a brief definition of the normal opisthodomus.³ This should occasion no surprise. And sometimes there is evident confusion, which either results from the ignorance or carelessness of the writer or is due to too brief statement or to defective transmission of the text.⁴ This also should occasion no

¹ Achil. Tat. III. 6.

² *Philol.* 1894, LIII. p. 359.

³ To the scholium on Arist. *Plut.* 1193 just cited is added after the main explanation the statement, *τὸν ὀπισθόδομον· τὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ οἴκου, ἡγουν τοῦ ναοῦ*. Cf. the other brief scholia on Arist. *Plut.* 1193: *τὰ ὀπισθεν τοῦ δόμου*. Dv. *τὸν ὀπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ*. Par. 2827. And on Arist. *Plut.* 1191: *τὸν ὀπισθεν οἶκον τῆς θεοῦ*. LB. So Photius *s.v.* *ὀπισθόδομος* says first *τὸ ὀπισθεν παντὸς οἰκήματος*, and then adds the alternative statement that the Opisthodomus was a state treasury on the Acropolis that lay *ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ*. The brief definition *τὸ ὀπισθεν παντὸς οἰκήματος* is found also in E. M. *s.v.* *ὀπισθόδομος* and Bekk. *Anec.* I. p. 286, 26.

⁴ Cf. p. 4, note 2; p. 5, note 1. We find, as I think, an instance of confusion

surprise, although we must regret it, for it opens a field for doubt and discussion. Still, making due allowance for all difficulties of this sort, it seems certain that these late writers do contain a record of the true tradition about the Opisthodomus.

There remains, finally, a scholium which merits special consideration, because of the use that has been made of it and because, as it seems to me, it stands quite apart from the rest in its meaning. Schol. V Luc. *Tim.* 53¹ reads: *ὡς ἱερόσυλον διαβάλλων ταῦτά φησιν · ὁ γὰρ ὀπισθοδόμος ἱερόν · τὸ ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ἀδύτου οὕτως ἐλέγετο.*² The point of view of the scholiast should here be noted. His mind is dwelling solely on the act of sacrilege. He adds the statement *τὸ ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ἀδύτου οὕτως ἐλέγετο* in explanation of the previous predication *ἱερόν*. He is thinking of the regular opisthodomus of a temple. Such an opisthodomus was a sacred place, because it stood behind the sanctuary of the god.

Boeckh³ bases his belief that the Opisthodomus was the western chamber of the cella of the Parthenon on the scholium on Luc. *Tim.* 53. In two other passages to which he refers he thinks that *ναός* is equivocal and must be interpreted by the single scholium on Lucian. This ignores, as we have seen, the established use of the word *ναός* in its application to temples of Athena on the Acropolis.⁴ The existence of the Hecatompedon, brought to our knowledge by Dörpfeld's brilliant discovery, was not known to Boeckh. If it had been, he would not have maintained with such vigour against Osann⁵ and

of facts in E. M. *s.v.* *ὀπισθοδόμος* and Bekk. *Anec.* I. p. 286, 26. Here two definitions are confused, that of the Opisthodomus (the Athenian treasury) and that of the normal opisthodomus (of any temple). The form of statement here should be compared with that in Photius. Schol. RY Dem. XXIV. 136, which, under the lemma *ταμῖαι*, reads, *ἦν δὲ ὁ ὀπισθοδόμος τὸ ὀπισθεν τῆς θεοῦ*, leaves us in doubt what the scholiast means. *τὸ ὀπισθεν τῆς θεοῦ* may signify *the place behind the goddess* in the sense of *behind her temple* quite as naturally as that of *behind her statue*.

¹ Quoted on p. 14.

² The variant on this reads: *ὅτι ὁ ὀπισθοδόμος ἱερόν, τὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ ἀδύτου οὕτως ἐλεγον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ δημόσια ἀπέκειτο χρήματα.* (This should probably be: *ὅτι ὁ ὀπισθοδόμος ἱερόν · τὸ ὀπισθεν (δὲ) κτλ.*)

³ *CIG.* I. p. 177 f.

⁴ See p. 7 ff.

⁵ *Sylloge Inscr. Ant. Graec. et Lat.*, 1834, p. 62, note 13.

"Britanni nonnulli"¹ the thesis that there was no other opisthodomus on the Acropolis than that in the Parthenon.²

If the conclusion that the Opisthodomus was a separate building and that it consisted of the three western chambers and western portico that before the Persian wars constituted the western half of the cella of the Hecatompedon is correct, it should be confirmed by a consideration of the uses to which the Opisthodomus was put. If it fails, as thus constituted, to account adequately for any established facts, the conclusion is in so far invalidated.

The scholiasts and lexicographers, in the first place, call it a ταμείον or θησανροφυλάκιον. In it, by their testimony, were housed τὰ χρήματα, both the sacred treasure, τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα, τὰ χρήματα τῶν θεῶν, and the public treasure, τὰ δημόσια χρήματα, τὸ δημόσιον ἀργύριον καὶ ὁ φόρος.

Our earliest documentary proof of the existence of the Hecatompedon is the celebrated inscription already referred to.³ This inscription names the ταμίαι frequently,⁴ and, although much mutilated, evidently contained important prescriptions of their duties. Among these is specified τὰ οἰκήματα [τὰ ἐν τῷ ἑκατ]ομπέδῳ ἀνοίγειν [τοὺς] ταμίας (II. 17, 18). It is generally agreed that the chambers here referred to are those in the western half of the cella and that they were treasure-chambers.⁵ These are the rooms which, according to the conclusions to which we have come, constituted the treasury referred to as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος in later times.

¹ Dodwell, *Classical Tour in Greece*, 1819, I. p. 345; Wilkins, *Atheniensiæ, or Remarks on the Topog. and Buildings of Athens*, 1816, p. 98, note. See also Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, 1825, II. p. 26, note d; p. 29, note h. Michaelis has a remark about the Englishmen: "Die früher vielfach beliebte Unterscheidung des Opisthodomus im Parthenon und eines zweiten Opisthodomus als selbständigen Staatsschatzhauses hat jetzt nur noch historisches Interesse"! (*Der Parthenon*, p. 27, note 85.) I must confess, with shame, that I knew nothing about the views of the Englishmen until my own views on the question were already formed and expressed in writing.

² "*Sed nullus alius fuit usquam: opisthodomus est solius Parthenonis.*" *CIG.* I. p. 177 f.

³ See p. 2, note 8, end.

⁴ I. b (?), r (?), II. 3, 8, 13, 16, 18, 25.

⁵ See p. 39, note 2.

The inscription quoted in part on p. 12, which in date falls between 480 and 460 B.C.,¹ records the fact that treasure was kept in a precinct behind the old temple of Athena. The περίβολος here mentioned, if the lacuna has been properly supplied, was that of the Hecatompedon, in which at the time of the decree stood the restored treasury, and in this treasury the money in question must have been kept. That it was safely housed is certain, however general the phrase [ἐν περιβ]όλο[ι] may be; the treasure was not kept in the open.²

After the Persian wars to the time of the completion of the Parthenon the treasures *in kind* of Athena must have been stored partly in "the old temple,"³ partly in the treasury. In the latter was also the sacred money of Athena, and, as we have seen,⁴ likewise that

¹ See Dittenberger, *SIG.* 384.

² It is by no means certain that [περιβ]όλο[ι] is right. The phrase [ἐν περιβ]όλο[ι] gives a suspiciously vague designation of the place where the money was kept. Curtius (*Stadtgeschichte*, p. 132, note) conjectures [ἐν τῇ θ]όλο[ι], but this falls short by a letter. [δπισθ]εν is Dörpfeld's conjecture (*Mith. d. Inst. Athen.*, 1887, xii. p. 39), but he there fails to take account of the preceding ολο. Kirchhoff (*CIA.* iv. 1) and Dittenberger (*SIG.* 384) read [νόστοθ]εν, but this does not affect the conclusion which we have reached. See p. 39. The original of the remnant ολο perhaps yet remains to be found. If the supposition expressed above, that the money referred to was housed in the restored treasury, is true, and if it is also true that the inscription read περιβόλω, the reason why the place where the money was kept is mentioned in this general way, and not specifically by name, must be a matter of conjecture. It then becomes important to note that the inscription belongs to a time of confusion at Athens, just after the Persian wars, when it is quite possible that the name Opisthodomus, by which presumably the treasury was known before the destruction of the temple and which later became its fixed designation, had not yet been officially attached to this remnant of the temple. It must have seemed odd to the Athenians at first to designate as an opisthodomus a building which was now in fact a single structure, although originally it had been, as part of an actual temple, a real opisthodomus. This seems a simpler and more natural conjecture than that in περιβόλω we have reference, as Frazer conjectures (*Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, xiii. p. 162), to a building temporarily erected to house the treasures till the permanent treasury was ready.

³ Some of the Persian spoils were still there in the time of Pausanias (i. 27. 1). For the proof that the old temple (Erechtheum) was rebuilt after the Persian wars, see p. 23, note 1.

⁴ *CIA.* iv. 1 (p. 12) is a decree relating to the Eleusinian goddesses.

of some of the other gods. On the completion of the Parthenon the treasures in kind were transferred, as is well known, to the Pronaos, Neos Hecatompodos, and "Parthenon" of the new temple.¹ In 435-4 were passed the two celebrated decrees (*CIA.* I. 32 A, B) which brought all of the finances of the state into order. In them we clearly perceive the influence of Pericles, under whose careful financial policy Athens was preparing herself for the great struggle with Sparta that was to follow. The provisions of these two decrees are met with singular fitness on the supposition that the public and sacred money was housed in the restored Opisthodomus of the Hecatompodon.

The money now stored in the treasury had become a great sum (A 2 ff.). This fact is confirmed by the testimony of Thucydides.² The amount of coined silver on the Acropolis at the time when the decree was passed was 9700 talents.³ This included both the state-

¹ But not the money. Frazer's argument (*Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII. p. 163 f.) for making the western portico of the Parthenon the Opisthodomus (in brief, that the treasury documents name four compartments where treasure was stored, and that if three of these were in the Parthenon the natural inference is that the fourth, namely the Opisthodomus, was also there) overlooks the important fact that the objects stored in these three compartments were essentially different from the contents of the fourth. We have no evidence that anything except money was stored in the Opisthodomus from the completion of the Parthenon to the end of the Peloponnesian War. It was a treasury, and a treasury in which was kept a great sum of money. Against this view, moreover, is the testimony of Plutarch (quoted on p. 15), who tells us distinctly what the opisthodomus of the Parthenon was. Nobody supposes that Demetrius was lodged in the western portico.

² Thuc. II. 13.

³ Kirchhoff, *Geschichte des Athenischen Staatsschatzes*, 1876, p. 22; Dittenberger, *SIG.* 14, note 1. — The fact of the existence of this great treasure seems to me to be fatal to the view that the Opisthodomus was the western portico of the Parthenon. (See Dörpfeld, who formerly held this view, and Frazer, as cited on p. 4.) This portico was altogether inadequate for the purpose. It is pertinent, further, here to add that it was open to view on three sides, where bronze gratings between the columns were all that barred a thieving public. Can we believe, moreover, that this great treasure was cramped into this small space, and yet that the large room beyond it, the "Parthenon" in the limited sense, was left practically empty, containing, as the treasure documents show (*CIA.* I. 161-175), only a relatively small number of articles employed at festival-time ("einige Dutzend Klinen und Stühle," Petersen, *Mith.* 1887, XII. p. 69)?

reserve and the treasure of the goddess. The existence of so great a treasure in 435 B.C., which must have been the accumulation of years, necessarily implies the existence of a place for storing the money before the completion of the Parthenon.

It is noteworthy that the decrees assume certain facts. The fact of the existence of a treasury is taken for granted, just as that of the boards of the hellenotamiae, logistae, and ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας. The treasury is named three times (A 15, 17, B 23), simply as ὁ ὀπισθοδόμος, in such a way as to imply that it was a well-known place in established use. The specification, further, of the duty of the hellenotamiae in B 18 ff., ἐκ τῶν φόρων κατατιθέναι κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὰ ἐκάστοτε γεινόμενα παρὰ τοῖς ταμίαισι τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας, simply recognizes and emphasizes, as Kirchhoff has shown,¹ a previous practice. The one important new provision is the establishment of the board of the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν (A 13 ff.). This necessitated certain rearrangements in the use of the Opisthodomus. From this time the tamiae of Athena are to store her money-treasure ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου, the tamiae of the other gods ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. This must mean, as Dörpfeld has already pointed out,² the room to the right and the room to the left in the back part of the Opisthodomus. But since we know that there was a third treasure, and that it was large, which although in the care of the treasurers of Athena was still kept separate, we cannot but conclude that it was stored in the larger chamber that lay in front of the two smaller chambers. It had probably been here from the first establishment of a state-fund. This use of the larger chamber explains the provision in A 15 ff. (quoted on p. 16). This provision, in which the words ὅσα δυνατόν καὶ ὅσιον imply a limitation, means, as I think, that the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν are not to have access to the chamber in which the treasure of which they are in charge is stored except in company with the ταμίαι τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας, not that they are always to be present when the other rooms are opened. To reach their own chamber they were obliged to pass through that set aside for the reserve fund of the state, which was in charge, under the authority of the state, of the more ancient and much more

¹ *Athen. Staatssch.* p. 33.

² *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 38.

important board. It must not be forgotten that the state exercised absolute control over all of these treasures, although it employed the form of a fictitious loan when it drew upon the resources of Athena and of the other gods. The outward symbol of this authority was the key of the treasury held by the ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων, of whom Aristotle says,¹ τηρεῖ δ' οὗτος τὰς κλείς τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν² ἐν οἷς τὰ χρήματά ἐστιν καὶ τὰ γράμματα τῇ πόλει. The custody of the key did not imply responsibility for the actual management of the funds.

The view here advanced, that the Opisthodomus of the authors and of inscriptions was the Opisthodomus of the old Hecatompedon, rebuilt without peristyle and eastern chamber after the destruction of that temple in the Persian wars, is not accepted by Milchhöfer. In his able and searching discussion of the Opisthodomus,³ he first combats the identification of "Parthenon" and Opisthodomus, a view that at the time of the publication of his article had just been reasserted by Furtwängler; he then advances positive arguments to sustain the proposition that the Opisthodomus was a separate building; and finally he states what he believes its probable situation to have been. He would place it at the eastern end of the Acropolis, where are remains which were once supposed to be those of the chalcotheca.⁴ His view as to the situation of the Opisthodomus has been accepted by Furtwängler.⁵ To me it seems to be untenable, for the following reasons.

¹ Aristot. *Resp. Athen.* 44.

² The first of the two *ιερά* here meant is the Opisthodomus. (The other was the Metroum, down in the town.) Cf. Poll. VIII. 96: ἔχει δὲ οὗτος τῶν ἱερῶν τὰς κλείς ἐν οἷς τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ γράμματα. Eust. *Od.* XVII. 455: τὰς τε κλείς (τῶν ἱερῶν Rose) ἐν οἷς τὰ χρήματά εἰσι φυλάττει καὶ τὰ γράμματα τῆς πόλεως. Cf. also Suidas and E. M. *s.v.* ἐπιστάτης. Less exactly the argument to Dem. XXII. p. 590. See Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, 1890, II. I, p. 338.

³ See p. I, note 1.

⁴ Where now stands the workshop of the Acropolis Museum. See the plan in the *Δελτικόν Ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, nos. 16-19. "Diese Oertlichkeit," Milchhöfer says, "würde allen Voraussetzungen entsprechen, die wir für das Schatzhaus ermittelt haben." *Philol.* 1894, LIII. p. 361.

⁵ *Mast. Greek Sculpt.*, 1895, p. 425 f.

It is contradicted, in the first place, by such indications of the situation of the Opisthodomus as we find in our authorities. They tell us that it lay *behind* a temple of Athena. No building at the eastern end of the Acropolis would be *behind* either the Parthenon, or the Hecatompedon, or the Erechtheum. In placing the Opisthodomus at the eastern end of the Acropolis, Milchhöfer thus rejects the testimony of the scholiasts and lexicographers. He thinks that these late writers are of doubtful authority in this question, but nevertheless, in arguing for the Opisthodomus as a separate building, calls attention to the remarkable fact that no one of them gives what we should think to be the most natural interpretation of the word ὀπισθόδομος. They define it not as the rear part of a temple, but as ὀπίσω (ὀπισθεν) τοῦ νεώ, τοῦ ἱεροῦ, also ὀπισθεν τῆς θεοῦ; we find no such expression as τὸ ὀπισθεν μέρος τοῦ ναοῦ or ὀπισθεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.¹ It should here be noted that in the very phrase to which Milchhöfer calls especial attention they say unequivocally that the Opisthodomus was *behind* the temple. It was doubtless his feeling for the force of their testimony that led him at first to seek to place the Opisthodomus actually *behind* a temple of Athena, namely to the west of the Parthenon.² He shows the same feeling for the force of ὀπισθεν in dealing with the early fifth century inscription already quoted.³ He indicates his preference for the reading [ὀπισθ]εν, and adds that the peribolus with its treasury constituted "dann schon eine Art 'Opisthodomus' des alten Tempels."⁴ This is full recognition of the fact that this earlier 'sort of opisthodomus' at least lay *behind* the temple. But the other opisthodomus that followed, *the* Opisthodomus, he puts behind no temple.⁵

¹ *Philol.* 1894, LIII. p. 359.

² *Ibid.* p. 360.

³ See p. 12. For its interpretation, see p. 45.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 357, note 8.

⁵ Milchhöfer arbitrarily makes the inscription cited a *terminus ante quem*. Yet money had to be housed on the Acropolis both before and immediately after the Persian wars, and he himself believes that "the treasurers of Athena had been installed *in the Opisthodomus* long before the Parthenon was built." (*Ibid.* p. 357.) How long before? To me it seems likely that the inscription refers to the real Opisthodomus, not to 'a sort of Opisthodomus.' See p. 45, with note 2.

Milchhöfer, as I have said, sought first to place the Opisthodomus behind the Parthenon, but here he encountered a substantial obstacle, the real chalcothece,¹ and relinquished his first suggestion. He adopts his final view with more confidence, although he says that certainty in the matter is not to be expected. Two considerations weigh with him. First, if we should put the Opisthodomus at the eastern end of the Acropolis, it would be an opisthodomus (*rear-building*) in the sense in which the Propylaea are the fore-court (*Vorhof*) of the Acropolis. But this is the gratuitous intrusion of a new point of view. In no ancient reference to the situation of the Opisthodomus is there anywhere mention of the Propylaea; our authorities orient the Opisthodomus not from the Propylaea but from a temple of Athena. It is pure conjecture, therefore, to assume that the Opisthodomus got its name because it was at the 'rear' of the Acropolis as the Propylaea were at the front.² In this case, further, the name *οπισθόδομος* would stand without parallel. Nowhere in the literature, so far as I know, is the eastern end of the Acropolis called its 'back part,' nor is there intimation anywhere that a Greek ever thought of it as that. Secondly, it seems to Milchhöfer in itself probable that such a structure as the Opistho-

¹ See *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1889, xiv. p. 304 ff.

² It should be noted that the word *Προπύλαια* does not mean "front-gateway," in the sense of gates in front of a space behind, but rather "that which is in front of the gates," in this case the wings and portico in front of the five doorways as one comes up from the west. The use of the adjective *προπύλαιος* establishes this fact. Neither the word *Προπύλαια* nor the structure itself, which lies low and led to the rear of the temples, could have suggested to a Greek any such strong antithesis between the Propylaea and the high ground at the east fronting the temples, where stood the great altar, as lies at the basis of Milchhöfer's assumption. The natural means of orienting objects on the Acropolis is, as we have seen, not the Propylaea, but the temples. The probability, further, of such an antithesis as Milchhöfer assumes is weakened by the actual situation which he assigns to his 'back-building.' It does not lie on high ground on the eastern continuation of the axis of the Propylaea, but in the extreme south-eastern part of the Acropolis on ground that was lower than that to the north and to the west of it (see Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. descrip. arc. Athen*. 1880, Tabula II.), and with the peribolus of the Parthenon directly between it and the Propylaea. It is doubtful whether it could have been seen, even before the building of the present Parthenon, from the Propylaea.

domus was erected at the eastern end of the Acropolis on the site of a pre-Persian building used as a magazine and for purposes of administration.¹ He would therefore identify the present remains as those of the Opisthodomus. This again is simply conjecture.²

There is a second strong objection to Milchhöfer's view. It contravenes the established application of the word *ὑπισθόδομος*, which as defined by Pollux and Varro, and in fourteen instances of its use in authors, in each of which its meaning is certain, designates *an integral rear part of a building*.³ It has no other application. Nothing, therefore, but convincing evidence should induce us to believe that the word could have been applied to a building on the Acropolis at Athens which *always had been* a separate structure.

¹ "Es ist auch an sich wahrscheinlich, dass hier ein solcher Bau an Stelle vorpersischer Magazin- und Verwaltungsräume eingerichtet worden ist." *Ibid.* p. 361. This statement leaves it doubtful where Milchhöfer thinks the treasure was stored before the Persian wars.

² This theory is not supported by schol. Dem. xxiv. 136 and Pollux ix. 40, noticed on p. 5, note 1 above. Even if we accept Milchhöfer's suggestion that these may possibly rest on better ultimate authority than the rest of the notices (*ibid.* p. 359), they do not tend to establish his view. The phrase of the schol., *οἰκημα ὀπίσω τῆς ἀκροπόλεως*, "a house behind the Acropolis," removes the Opisthodomus from the Acropolis altogether. Pollux doubtless means to say the same thing, "the (part) behind the Acropolis." He here uses *κατόπιν* adverbially, as in the same phrase in his definition of *σηκός*, quoted on p. 38.

³ For the definitions of Pollux and Varro, see p. 38. The word *ὑπισθόδομος* occurs in the following places in reference to the rear part of a temple: Diod. Sic. xiv. 41; Plut. *Demet.* 23 (see p. 15); Aristides, I. p. 548, 14 Dind. (see p. 15); Paus. v. 10. 9, 13. 1, 15. 3, 16. 1; Lucian *Hdt.* 1, *Fug.* 7, *de morte Peregr.* 32; Anth. Pal. xii. 223, 4 (Strato); Achil. Tat. iii. 6; in reference to the back part of a house: Appian, *de bell. civ.* i. 20; in reference to the rear part of a buletarium: Themistius, xv. p. 234 Dind. All the occurrences of the word known to me have been cited in this paper. — In the course of his argument Milchhöfer unconsciously makes an important admission. He says (*ibid.* p. 356), "Von vorn herein wird Jedermann zugeben, dass lediglich der offiziell überlieferte Name 'Opisthodomos' darauf geführt hat, das Schatzhaus für einen Theil des Tempels zu halten; auf Grund unserer sonstigen Ueberlieferung hätte man in dem *ταμείον* nur einen selbständigen Bau vermuthen können." The fact remains that the treasury was called Opisthodomus. Of this apparently anomalous fact we find adequate explanation in the view advanced in this paper that the treasury was once an integral part of the Hecatompodon.

Milchhöfer's sole support of his proposition is the declaration that the usage of Greek speech allows this employment of the compound word, analogously to the use of the word *Hinterhaus* in German,¹ which may mean "a house in the rear" as well as "the rear part of a house." He adduces no proof. It is hazardous, of course, to say in etymologizing what Greek usage would not allow; but, in cases of doubt, one fact is worth many theories. Here the fact is certain that, as has been shown, the word according to its established application did mean *the back part of a building*, not *a back building*. Nor is it difficult to see precisely how the word *ὑπισθόδομος* came to have its established meaning. It has good Greek parallels, and in such a discussion as this Greek analogy carries much more weight than modern. Precise parallels are *πρόναος*, *πρόδομος*, and *προσκήνιον*, the etymology of which has already been discussed in its bearing on another question.² Etymologically, *ὑπισθόδομος* signifies "the part behind the *δόμος*" (*τὸ ὕπισθεν τοῦ δόμου μέρος*), where *δόμος* signifies the main structure to which the *ὑπισθόδομος* is added. So *πρόδομος*, "the part before the *δόμος*," and *πρόναος*, "the part before the *ναός*," at the time when *ναός* and *ἄδντον* were identical and signified all that there was in the way of a 'temple.' Then the idea conveyed by the second part of the compound was enlarged, so that *δόμος* and *ναός* came to include the *πρόδομος*, *πρόναος*, and *ὑπισθόδομος*. Thus Homer can speak of the *πρόδομος* of a *δόμος*, and Pausanias and Strabo of the *πρόναος* of a *ναός*.³ So *ὑπισθόδομος* came to mean "the back part of the *δόμος*," where *δόμος* signifies the whole structure. This is precisely the general definition of *ὑπισθόδομος* given by the early lexicographers, namely *τὸ ὕπισθεν παντὸς οἰκήματος*.⁴ The *ὑπισθόδομος*, *πρόδομος*, and *πρόναος* were, then, integral parts of a whole, but what this 'whole' is, is defined with absolute certainty by the second part of the compound. A Greek could speak of the *ὑπισθόδομος*, *πρόδομος*, and *πρόναος* of a house or of a temple; but his sense, it may be an unconscious sense, of the etymological force of the words would have made it impossible for him to speak of the *ὑπισθόδομος*

¹ *Ibid.* p. 356.

² See p. 7, note 2.

³ Hom. *Od.* iv. 302; Paus. ix. 4. 2; Strabo xvii. 28, p. 805.

⁴ Photius, E. M., s.v. *ὑπισθόδομος*; Bekk. *Anec.* i. p. 286, 26. See p. 42, note 3.

of an acropolis or of any 'whole' not indicated by the word itself. It would be as forced to suppose that the word ὀπισθόδομος was so applied, meaning *a rear-building of the Acropolis*, as that πρόδομος might mean *a front building of the Acropolis* or πρόναος *a front temple of the Acropolis*. There is no shadow of authority for saying that the last two words were ever so used.

The case, then, may be summed up as follows against Milchhöfer's theory. First, it contravenes the ancient evidence, and assumes a Greek point of view for the orientation of buildings on the Acropolis which cannot be established. Secondly, on trustworthy testimony, the Opisthodomus (ὁ ὀπισθόδομος) in which the Athenians stored their treasure was a separate building, as Milchhöfer himself believes; but Greek usage of speech allowed the word ὀπισθόδομος to be applied only to a structure that was, *or at some time had been*, the integral rear part of a building. 'The Opisthodomus,' therefore, must at some time have been an integral rear part of some building. The theory advanced in the second part of this paper is that this building was the Hecatompedon.